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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY

ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE

UNITED STATES

DECEMBER 5 AND 6, 1956

PART 41

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**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS**

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**ARTHUR V. WATKINS**, Utah

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**JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER**, Maryland

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**WILLIAM A. RUSHER**, *Administrative Counsel*

**BENJAMIN MANDEL**, *Director of Research*

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Honolulu, T. H.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 9:30 a. m., in the senate chamber, Iolani Palace, Senator Olin D. Johnston presiding.

Present: Senators Johnston, Watkins, Welker, and Butler.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research directors.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee will come to order. We will begin our hearing.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, before beginning the regular session, I would like to report for the public record—one of the ways we have of getting into the record here some of the developments that take place out of the formal hearing—we had issued a subpoena within the last few days to a person who has been identified as a Communist. Now, he called this morning to ask if we would see him outside the Iolani Palace because he was afraid to come to the hearing at the palace grounds.

He acknowledged that he had been a Communist, he told us he had left the party; when he had left the party; gave us some interesting information that we plan to develop; stated that he will testify fully before the committee in executive session. And then we asked him if he would cooperate with the Territorial commission. He acknowledged that he would. And he is standing by, in the event that the subcommittee may want to see him again.

Senator WATKINS. May I inquire, Is this an additional witness to the one mentioned yesterday?

Mr. MORRIS. That's right, Senator.

The first witness this morning is Mr. Dillingham. Will you sit at the witness table, Mr. Dillingham, please?

Senator JOHNSTON. Raise your right hand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do.

Senator JOHNSTON. Have a seat.

## TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN DILLINGHAM

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the shorthand reporter, Mr. Dillingham, please?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. My name is Benjamin Franklin Dillingham.

Mr. MORRIS. And where do you reside?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. 3227 Diamond Head Road, Honolulu, T. H.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you born in Honolulu, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you lived in Honolulu since that time?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Forty years, unfortunately.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you held office in the Territory?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would relate to the committee what offices you have held?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. In 1946 I was elected to the board of supervisors of the city and county of Honolulu, which office I held until elected to the senate in the fall of 1948, the Territorial senate, that is, and I held that office until—well, my term expires January 1, 1957.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you held any other positions in the Territory?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. In a private capacity, yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been a senator, have you not?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Territorial senator; my term expires as of the end of this year.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have also been active in business here?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. At the present time, sir, I am vice president and general manager of the Oahu Railway & Land Co.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long have you held that position?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. For approximately 8 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is your father, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. My father is Walter F. Dillingham.

Mr. MORRIS. And he has been active in the community here for many years, has he not?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir, he has.

Mr. MORRIS. Has he been active in business?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Still active. He serves as president of the company in which I serve as manager.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. He is well and favorably known on this island?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well known, yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you had an opportunity, Mr. Dillingham, of observing the influence of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and the United Public Workers on the community of Hawaii?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you, with particularity, had an opportunity to notice its influence on management and business generally?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Are there any observations that you can tell this committee, based on your own experience, about the relationship between business generally and management generally and the leaders of the ILWU?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, sir, the record has been fairly obvious, particularly since the end of World War II. It has been a record marked by ups and downs, a good deal of turbulence, particularly in the early years after the war. There has been a great deal more stability recently than there was in the opening phases of these labor relationships, but I will say that the situation is, at the moment, on a reasonably favorable basis—explosive but favorable.

Senator WELKER. What is that? "Explosive but favorable"?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It is subject to change. Inflammable.

Senator WELKER. You used the word "explosive"?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It is an explosive proposition, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Has the conviction of Jack Hall and the other six defendants in the Smith Act trial of 1953, as well as the litigation in which, or the trial, I think, in which Harry Bridges, the international president of the ILWU, was a party, made an impression at all on management?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, I think it has made an impression, Mr. Morris, but the fact that the conviction has been followed up by long delays in any decisive action being taken, has tended to minimize the impact of that conviction. And I think that has left its mark not only upon management, but also upon the community at large.

Senator JOHNSTON. You mean to say by that, that the delay in the case has brought a bad effect upon the public here?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. A very, very unfortunate effect, yes, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Dillingham, have you noticed in recent days, this month I should say, there has been a series of testimonial dinners for Mr. Jack Hall?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct. I have noticed that.

Mr. MORRIS. Have representatives of management, according to what you may have learned from press reports and other sources, attended these testimonial dinners?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have seen the names of one or two mentioned in the press, yes, sir. How many were actually in attendance, I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, based on your experience as a businessman, on the part of business management, do you feel that management of responsible business should attend a testimonial dinner for Mr. Jack Hall, under the circumstances?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Under the circumstances, I do not, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us why you say that, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Morris, Mr. Hall has been convicted of an act that is, from my point of view, tantamount to treason. Now, regardless of what one may feel personally about Mr. Hall, what he represents and the job that he is doing, the fact remains that under the judicial system of our country, he has been duly tried and convicted. Now, I don't think that that fact can be minimized or overlooked, and I don't see how any person in a responsible business or otherwise, who claims to be loyal to the United States and therefore to all its principles and institutions, can overlook that very important fact by going to a dinner in testimony or in honor of that individual.

As I understood, it wasn't a question of paying tribute to the ILWU as an organization, to its membership, or to its accomplishments, but it was paying tribute to the individual. And under the circumstances, I think it is incredible that anyone could, who claims to be loyal to

this country, pay tribute to him in the way of attending a testimonial dinner.

Senator WATKINS. May I ask you: How extensive was the attendance at that testimonial, at least from the point of view of business or management?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Sir, I am unable to say how extensive it was. I know, from what I have been told, that a good many business leaders were invited to attend the dinner. And out of that, I saw the names of only one or two that I was able to recognize as businessmen who actually did attend, not necessarily the dinner that was given here but at one of two of the other dinners on the outside islands. How many actually attended, sir, I could not say.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have some press clippings here, which indicate that in one case a manager of a sugar company and in another case the general manager of a biscuit and bread company did attend this public dinner for Mr. Hall.

I wonder if they might go into the record at this time. I know it is a newspaper report, and it is conceivable that the people weren't there, but it would be hard to see that the newspaper would report their presence, and particularly if they quote them. In one case the paper reports that, "In a brief talk" one man "expressed his pleasure at being with the workers outside of working hours."

Senator JOHNSTON. These shall go into the record.

(The clipping above referred to reads as follows:)

[Labor, September 4, 1956]

#### ILWU FEELS SECURE NOW, JACK HALL SAYS

HILLO, T. H., September 4.—In contract negotiations a year ago the ILWU was fighting for survival, according to its regional director, Jack W. Hall, but today he feels it is secure.

He made the comment while addressing a testimonial dinner held for him Sunday at the Hotel Honokaa Club.

Plantation and public officials were among the estimated 230 persons who attended.

Generally speaking, the union is enjoying good relations with industry, according to Hall.

He added that the union will keep trying to consider the public in all its negotiations.

#### FROM AND TO

The ILWU will look into problems affecting the Territory, such as employment and schools, because the union is looking not only for what it can get from the Territory, but what it can contribute, Hall said.

County Chairman James Kealoha, one of the guest speakers, commented on union gains, and expressed the hope that union and management will continue to "get along."

The union is ready to go on record as prepared to give moral, physical, and financial support to Jack Hall, said Saburo Fupisaki, union defense and membership service director.

Antonio Rania, president of local 142, said he is sure the Honokaa unit will be working with management for peaceful solutions of problems, and gave examples of how this has been accomplished.

#### PLEASED

In a brief talk, Manager Richard M. Frazier of the Honokaa Sugar Co. expressed his pleasure at being with the workers outside working hours.

The speakers also included George Martin, Hawaii division director of the ILWU; Yoshito Takamine, master of ceremonies; and Felomíno Fuerte, chairman of the dinner program.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I have only one question?

Senator JOHNSTON. Yes. Proceed.

Senator WELKER. Were you invited to attend any of the testimonial dinners for Jack Hall?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I was extended an invitation, Senator, on an informal basis; that is, that I did not receive any formal invitation, but I was "sounded out," you might say.

Senator WELKER. Who "sounded" you out?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. A member of the ILWU, Senator.

Senator WELKER. And you didn't see fit to be "sounded"?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. And you did not attend the meeting?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I did not, no, sir.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you know whether or not they sent out any formal invitations or just invited people?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir, I don't know whether they sent out any formal invitations. This gentleman, I might say, is a friend of mine, and I have no reason to suspect his own loyalty whatsoever. And he came to me as a friend and asked me, and I explained to him, as I explained to you this morning, the reasons why I could not see my way clear to attend that dinner.

Senator JOHNSTON. So you believe it was wrong for them to have attended this dinner, and especially attend a dinner and give no reasons for attending. It could be possible that someone could attend a dinner and give their reasons, unless the public knows they were there in order to find out some facts. That would not be a harm, would it?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I don't see that any harm would come of that, Senator. But I think it does add to the general confusion surrounding this issue. People have not seen it clearly and they have not thought it all the way through.

Senator JOHNSTON. Especially when the case had been tried and the conviction was pending and was on its way to the appellate court.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct. In a sense, it stands for a contempt of our judicial process, in my opinion.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you think that has an adverse effect on the community in general?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Adversely, in this way, Mr. Morris. That it tends to becloud the issue and to make it fuzzy. "What's wrong with attending a dinner to a certain individual?" And then, "Well, so and so went, and so and so went. Well, if they went, what's wrong? Wasn't any harm to be done?"

But the issue wasn't pointed up clearly. And that's the problem we really face in this whole Communist issue, not only in this Territory but throughout the United States. The issue isn't clearly defined.

Senator WATKINS. It may be construed as an approval of the conduct of the person who was being honored.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is true, Senator, and in some instances you can approve the conduct of the individual concerned. As a union leader, there are many things that individual has done that is worthy of approval. You can't condemn him for his union conduct. But, as I clearly found out to my own satisfaction, that testimonial dinner

was not given in honor of the individual as a union leader, it was given for him personally.

Well, he is a convicted man, a man convicted of treason to his country. And that's the issue. Not the fact that he was a good fellow or that he keeps his word, or that he is an able union leader, that he has got an interest in the welfare of a number of men who are depending upon him to negotiate their contractual relations, and so forth.

Senator WATKINS. The very fact that he was convicted of the crime charged, would certainly not make him a good leader. Because if he were able to accomplish what has been charged—that is, the overthrow of the Government by force and violence—that would have been completely contrary to the interest of every laboring man in the United States.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I quite agree with you, Senator. But on the other hand, he remains free, his case is on appeal, he is allowed all the freedom that you and I are allowed, practically, with the exception that he has to ask the court occasionally, when he wants to take a trip to San Francisco. And years go by and absolutely nothing has happened. And in the meantime his chief, Mr. Bridges, gives out the impression that nothing is going to happen, any more than anything has happened to him since the days when he first took over as a union leader. He can defy the courts and defy the President of the United States, he can defy the United States Congress, and the people generally, and continue to breeze along unscathed. That is the factual situation.

Senator JOHNSTON. So in effect, just giving a dinner and having a dinner for him, and even though it was only the union members that attended, it really is not the proper thing to do under the circumstances?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. In my opinion, sir, very definitely improper.

Senator JOHNSTON. We know from this investigation that a great many, and I am glad to say a large majority, of the union members are true and loyal Americans.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct.

Senator JOHNSTON. But when they participate in things of this nature, like this dinner given for Jack Hall, it is a blot upon the whole union, when they attend mass meetings such as this. Isn't that true?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I say not upon upon the union, Senator, but upon all who would pay tribute to him.

Senator JOHNSTON. Pay tribute, yes.

Senator BUTLER. And is but a part of a general pattern, is it not, to run down the courts and recognized authority?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct.

Senator WATKINS. I would like to observe, Mr. Dillingham, that I think the members of this committee, and I know I do personally, deplore very much the long delay in the courts with respect to the final settlement of the appeal or appeals which have been pending.

The courts may have some explanation, I don't know. There are matters occurring frequently in connection with cases that have taken many months to try and involve a large number of documents and a great deal of testimony. They take quite a while to get those cases properly prepared for argument before the appellate courts. But it seems to me that within the period of time—as I understand it has been over three years—it would seem that more than ample time has

been allowed for any ordinary delays that are caused by reason of the circumstances of the particular litigation.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No question.

Senator WATKINS. I have heretofore expressed my feeling in connection with that situation. I do hope the courts are going to move now in the direction of getting this matter disposed of. I can understand full well how the people would feel, how the business people and others would feel, "Well, maybe there isn't anything wrong." It seems to give an impression that "Whatever was done there doesn't amount to very much or else the United States Government, its judicial department, would move along like anyone else and have it determined one way or the other, whether they were guilty or not guilty, whether they had a fair trial, and if they hadn't had a fair trial, send it back for a new trial."

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It loses all its punch and all its impact, all its sense of urgency and importance.

Senator WATKINS. It is very deplorable that it has gone that length of time. The courts may have some reasonable explanation for it—I don't know—but they're entitled at least to have their day in court, to explain why this long delay has happened. And they may have a logical reason. But as the record now stands, it seems to me that it has been entirely too long.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If I may suggest, sir, it seems to me in a matter of this kind that some special judicial process could be provided to dispatch these cases which in effect involve a question of loyalty or treason, or what-have-you. In the military they have courts-martial and the thing is dispensed with very quickly. It seems to me we face a similar situation in civil circumstances and provision should be made, other than through the routine processes, to handle cases of this kind.

Senator WATKINS. There may be a suggestion that, at this time, it should be studied with respect to future legislation. But we can move with more dispatch than we're moving. It may be necessary to consider the enactment of new legislation or amending of old legislation.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator WATKINS. It may be necessary sometime to amend the Constitution itself to meet the modern situation that we are facing, that was not even thought of at the time our present Constitution was adopted. Of course, that is one reason why machinery was set up to amend the Constitution—to meet new and changing conditions.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Right.

Senator BUTLER. Do you have any idea that, if the situation was reversed and Mr. Hall was in jail, this thing would take 3½ years to be disposed of?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Sir, I don't quite understand your question.

Senator BUTLER. The question is this. When a person is unable to obtain speedy justice, there's always a way found to get him a trial, isn't there?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes.

Senator BUTLER. Well now, if this situation was reversed and the person convicted was not at liberty, don't you think it would have been disposed of much quicker?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think it would help a great deal.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Dillingham, has the fact that Harry Bridges, himself, president of the ILWU, was convicted of fraud on the United

States Government, in that he denied Communist Party membership—As the Chair knows, that conviction was subsequently set aside because the Supreme Court held that the statute of limitations—not that there was anything substantively wrong with the conviction, but the statute of limitations had run. And as you know, there was another court action involving Mr. Bridges.

Has the fact that Mr. Bridges and Mr. Hall are the bargaining agents for the workers before the National Labor Relations Board, has the fact of their Communist associations, such as I have stated them, been resented or opposed by management and business generally?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, I would say, Mr. Morris, it has been resented privately but their resentment has not been set forth or put forth or expressed effectively, publicly, so that the impression gained abroad is that even business is obliged, whether by preference or by law, or what-have-you, to deal with these people. And there again it has had the watering-down effect of the seriousness of the charge.

Senator JOHNSTON. So it is your belief, then, that they are afraid to express themselves freely, for fear it might hurt their business?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. In effect; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you think that is the proper attitude to be taken by business and management with respect to this particular Communist problem?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir. I think it is a very unfortunate attitude to take. But on the other hand, business people have felt, I am sure, that they are up against a realistic situation and that they are in the position of being ruined financially if they do come to terms. That there was no one else could come to their rescue. They had to bail themselves out of the boat themselves.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recall when Secretary of Labor Mitchell visited Honolulu?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir, I do.

Mr. MORRIS. What took place at that time, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, at that time, from the standpoint of labor-management relationship, labor and management were in negotiations for sugar and pineapple contracts renewals. And Mr. Mitchell made a statement in San Francisco that offended Mr. Bridges' sensibilities, and as a result, when Mr. Mitchell arrived here, Mr. Bridges announced that all negotiations would be broken off with management until Mr. Mitchell's departure.

Mr. MORRIS. That was not a proper reason for the breaking off of negotiations, was it, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It had absolutely nothing to do with management, any more than your investigations here should have caused work stoppages or threatened strikes that were threatened in anticipation of your arrival. But the other was even more farfetched. There was absolutely nothing in connection with Mr. Mitchell's visit having to do with management-labor relations or negotiations, or what-have-you. But simply because Mr. Mitchell made a remark in San Francisco that didn't please Mr. Bridges, why, he simply in protest wanted to show his authority by breaking off negotiations at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did management insist that negotiations be continued?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Management took a very unfortunate, weak-kneed position, and in effect said, "Well, whenever the boys are ready

to come back and talk to us, we will wait and bide our time, and we will talk to them when they're good and ready to talk to us."

It didn't have a very salutary effect anywhere, either. Frankly, it showed a very "gutless" position on the part of management leaders here.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you feel if the management leaders would take a stronger stand with respect to these things that the effect on the community would be an improvement?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It would certainly help, Mr. Morris. There is no question about it.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman.

Senator JOHNSTON. The Senator from Idaho.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Dillingham, your testimony has been very enlightening and you made one statement that I would like to have in the record and have you broaden your opinions on it. And that is: How could management, how could the islands be ruined financially by the activities of Mr. Bridges or Mr. Hall? I want you to go into the whole thing and tell us, so this committee will understand, just what would happen to the economy of the islands and the mainland and what would happen to this defense bastion, should they decide to call their walkout strike arbitrarily, such as they did in the Mitchell case, such as they did when we arrived here. I wish you would feel free and go right into that and tell us just what would happen.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Senator Welker, we, as you know, are primarily an agricultural community and, outside of the basic industries of sugar and pineapple, we are dependent upon service industries to service in effect those two basic industries. Now that is outside of any businesses that are affected by the presence here of our armed services. Because we are an agricultural community, we're particularly vulnerable to plantlife, you might say, so that, when pineapples get ripe, they don't wait because there's a strike going on, they have to be picked when they're ripe. The plantings have to go forward in order to meet the cycles, to assure a constant rate of production. They have to be weeded, they have to be fertilized, they have to be sprayed against blight. And, when a strike is called, all of that stops.

In the sugar industry, in addition to those factors, sugar must be watered, and when you don't water the cane it dies, and it died in 1946, I believe it was, when there was a very serious sugar strike here, island-wide. Not a drop of water was put on the cane. It dried up and looked like grass. Acres of it. Gone forever. Two years of effort thrown out the window for that fact.

Now, a strike in the pineapple industry can wipe out a crop, wipe out several crops. It can wipe out the harvest. The same applies in the sugar industry. And then, once you have—assuming you have got the sugar harvested and in the raw condition, and pineapple in the cans, it is important to get that sugar and pineapple to market, because you don't get paid for that crop unless it is marketed, shipped.

And because of the hold which the ILWU has over the shipping industry, a stoppage there can block you again from getting any of those products out of the Territory and to market.

Likewise, we depend upon shipping for virtually all our basic needs of life here. Outside of airmail and a few commodities that can be brought in by air, we have no trucking service, we have no

railroad service to fall back on, to relate us, to tie us to other communities of the United States; we are dependent upon ships. So when the shipping is cut off, we're not only denied access to the mainland for the sale of our products we produce here and depend upon for a livelihood, but we are denied an opportunity to receive our food, our clothing, our necessary supplies.

And when you realize—and as I say, except for the military, which is very substantial to be sure, but it is not by any means our staff of life, you might say, when you realize that the shipping and the pineapple and the sugar industries are subject to the whim, regardless of contract or any kind of obligation, subject to the whim of one man, you will understand the position this community is in every day, every week, every month of every year.

And his behavior, as you have had an opportunity to witness, is purely a matter of whim. He has contracts with these men, these industries, sugar, pineapple, and shipping, today, binding contracts. And yet because your committee wished to come here to the islands to find out what the score was on communism, he just paid absolutely no attention to the contractual commitments whatsoever; as, I say, a matter of whim, he was going to shut us down.

What does that mean? Well, there isn't any dictator anywhere in the whole world that has any more power than that, Senator—none.

Senator JOHNSTON. Under their contract, it doesn't give them a right to strike just because we come here to hold a hearing, does it?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir.

Senator JOHNSTON. That being so, isn't it true that one of your planters, or a man that is damaged by that, under our laws could sue the union as a whole and collect for the damages done?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct, Senator. But that takes another 10 years of legal procedure.

Frankly, it is terribly involved, terribly complicated. Drags on and on and on. And in the end they make a settlement.

They had a situation like that, Senator, very recently, which was settled with these fellows.

Senator JOHNSTON. As I see it, you're going to have to have some planters willing to sacrifice themselves in order to get justice. Isn't that about true?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir. And I feel that they will be willing to make that sacrifice if they have the feeling they are going to be properly backed up in due time. It is one thing to give your life or your fortune in the belief that it is going to accomplish something. But when you are merely put on the altar of sacrifice as a good fellow and somebody else is going to move in and reap the reward, that's hardly an inducement to make the kind of sacrifice or take the kind of courageous position that is very desperately needed at this time.

But I think that calls for very definite help from the Government itself. As you know, not having representatives in Congress, we do feel somewhat helpless out here in that regard. In other words, our real position is not adequately appreciated in Washington. And we are dependent upon the Federal Government for support. Moral support, if nothing else, but certainly support, because there are many things that we can't, as a Territory, accomplish as the States are able to do. We don't have that position. And that support has not been

forthcoming. We have not had adequate understanding and appreciation to back up what's been tried to be done here.

And it has been cleverly confused, the whole issue has been cleverly confused with unionism as such. Nobody here wants to be antilabor or antiunion. They don't even want to risk being charged with that. But we're 5,000 miles from Washington, and it is very easy, with the kind of publicity we have gotten here over the years, to write us off as a kind of feudal society under a Big Five domination and leave it at that. And if they can get the Big Five, why maybe that's all to the good, too.

Senator JOHNSTON. I want you to know that I'm speaking personally when I say this. I think you need a union. I think unions are good things in their places, and when properly handled and with proper officials at the head. But when any union becomes so dominated by the Communists that the CIO throws that union out, then I think it is time for a nation to wake up and do something about it.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, sir, the only thing we want to know is what to do.

Senator WATKINS. Mr. Chairman, what is your opinion with respect to why the labor union has taken the position it has? Is it because the rank and file favor such a program of frustration and following whims or is it because of some other reason, some other motivation?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Senator, to answer your question intelligently, I have to review with you the history of our industry here, which would be quite lengthy.

Senator WATKINS. Can you do it briefly?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, sir, let me put it this way. There was a time when the whip hand was in the hands of management here. There was domination by the Big Five; there was arrogance; it became arrogant; there was a reason for it being built up the way it was. And when they found themselves in the position of having everything, as is customary I think with human beings, they took advantage of it. And the time arrived where the little fellow, the laboring man, and others, were given a pretty thin end of things around here.

Senator WATKINS. Do you think that situation has been corrected?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes; I think to a great extent, Senator. And of course, to a great extent, too, it has been forced on them through the advent of the union. But the union has tended to play up many of the things—the ILWU, let me put it that way—has tended to over-emphasize a lot of things, perhaps in their own interest in order to have a good story to tell, or something of that kind. But whatever the reason, this adherence to the union has come about through a feeling of frustration and resentment against the existing order of things.

Senator WATKINS. It is usual in a situation of that kind. The general public, which probably has no direct financial interest in management and industry, and those who are not also members of the union are caught in between.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct.

Senator WATKINS. And they are the real sufferers under a situation of that kind.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct.

Senator WATKINS. It has been charged that the union is dominated by those who are under the discipline of the Communist Party, and in

fact are Communists or have been Communists recently. Have you people noted anything that would indicate that is the case? Do you have any evidence you could submit to the committee that would explain that situation? So far as we are concerned, we want to get the facts.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator WATKINS. If there is nothing to those charges, we want to clear that up. And if the charges are true that the unions, at least two of them here, are Communist dominated, we want to find that out, because that is one of the danger signals to the country. A situation of that kind must not be allowed to go on, because in a time of crisis, of war, our very liberty might be jeopardized and the tide of battle might be turned against us by reason of some situation of that sort.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Right.

Senator WATKINS. And that is the responsibility of this committee. Now, we don't know, when we come here, what all the facts are. We had an investigator go out and make some preliminary investigation. But obviously, in a situation we find here, it is almost impossible to get the evidence. Charges are made with respect to certain newspapers. We try to find out about the newspaper by calling those who appear on the surface, on the records, to be the manager and others connected with that newspaper, and yet they won't talk, they won't say anything; they rely on the fifth amendment.

It seems to me the local people here could greatly aid the Federal Government, and particularly Congress, when it uses its powers to investigate these matters, by helping to get the information and the evidence. We can't proceed without evidence. We can't even determine what kind of laws we ought to pass, or whether we ought to have amendments to existing laws, or repeal of existing laws, adopt new laws, or even propose amendments to the Constitution, unless we can get the information on which such action can be based.

And some people—of course many people probably—have cooperated, I don't know the extent. But it is difficult to find out, get evidence as to just what a certain newspaper is doing. Someway, it seems to me, the business people, the advertisers, or somebody, should come forth and say, "Well, if you can't get these people to testify themselves, we know who the managers are, we know who conducts this newspaper," and they should come in here and give us that evidence, so we can clear it up whether it is or is not Communist dominated.

The mere fact that a person takes the fifth amendment is not considered under the law as evidence that he is guilty. That is a right he has under the Constitution. No court is going to consider the mere fact he took that course as evidence he is guilty of anything. That is his right under the Constitution, as the courts have construed it. So we need aid. The Federal agencies may have been lax. You may not have had the support you think you ought to have out here. On the other hand, we find a strong group that is willing to stand together in a fight for the maintenance of the American way of life, of our liberties; it is much easier to work with a group of that kind to get the evidence needed.

I haven't talked to the staff about this, I don't know how many business people volunteered to come forth and give what evidence they have in the situation we find here.

I would like your comments on this matter of what, if any, evidence there is.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Senator, I am not as fair perhaps as the Constitution.

Senator WATKINS. In fact of the matter——

Mr. DILLINGHAM. When a man acts like a Communist and talks like one and associates with others who talk and act the same way, and isn't particularly interested in safeguarding the rights of others, as I interpret that term, then to me he is not—well, to me he is a Communist. I don't know how else to gather evidence. And I appreciate that much of the evidence I would probably gather under those circumstances would not be admissible in a court of law.

But as I say, when a fellow talks and he acts and he associates and he conducts himself in a manner that Communists conduct themselves, and when he says the same kind of things that Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Tito and some of these other fellows talk about, and one thing and another, and they talk the same as those who have been convicted of being Communists, then I'm satisfied, myself, that that fellow or that organization or that association is either Communist-dominated or takes the Communist line.

Senator WATKINS. Using your own basis, now, your own measuring stick——

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I can't use any other, Senator, because, until a man is convicted, he is not a Communist.

Senator WATKINS. Using that, what is your opinion with respect to the unions, the two unions that are under fire here or at least have been investigated, in the domination or control of them?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It has been my feeling for some time, Senator, that these two unions, and particularly the ILWU, have been led by Communists and are Communist-dominated, that is, influenced by the Communist thought and training and attitude of mind.

Senator WATKINS. Is that with respect to the leadership only?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is with respect to the leadership only.

Senator WATKINS. What about the membership at large?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have never myself been in contact with any member that I thought was, himself, disloyal to the United States in the terms I mean. Now, it doesn't mean that they don't have to go along. But I am talking about the people that I know personally and have talked to in the rank and file. They are as loyal to this country as I am.

Senator WATKINS. Is there any suggestion you have in that respect, in respect to an education program that might be inaugurated with the rank and file to help them see the necessity of throwing out of the management of the union those who are not loyal to this country?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I don't know anything——

Senator WATKINS. That have ulterior motives in leadership in these unions.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I don't know any way of doing it, Senator, except by persuasion and by setting an example. And to my way of thinking, I think that the business community here could have done

a far more effective job than they have done in persuading the rank and file that they have been following the wrong leadership. But unfortunately they have not exerted that kind of leadership and the rank and file has nowhere else to turn.

Senator WATKINS. I am very glad that you have made the remarks that you have just made. That corroborates the statement made by Dr. Phillips here several days ago. There is a community responsibility. It can't all be placed on the Federal Government. After all, the evidence of these things happens out here, where you people see and observe them.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That's correct.

Senator WATKINS. And Congress and the Federal Government and the law enforcement agencies and all of those have to depend to a certain extent upon the cooperation of the average citizen. We can't have a large secret service, a large group of agents all over the country, trying to ferret out these matters. We have to have rather a limited number of men to do this job.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I quite agree with you.

Senator WATKINS. They are spread all over the world at the present time. We have our CIA intelligence agents, we have our CIC in the Army, we have other agencies which attempt to get this information. But after all is said and done, they are powerless unless they do get the cooperation of the good loyal Americans.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, Senator, I will put it this way. I agree with you that lots can be done at the local level. But here's where you're up against a tough situation. When you have a labor leader who is also a convicted Communist, there's nothing under the law that says you don't have to deal with a labor leader who is a convicted Communist. Now, in accordance with our labor laws, as long as that individual is a duly authorized representative of his union you have got to deal with him, as I understand it.

Now, suppose industry says, "This fellow has been convicted of being a Communist and we won't deal with him." Then what? Who protects industry in that position? The fact remains that that individual, just because he has been convicted, hasn't been deprived of his status as agent for the union which he represents.

Senator WATKINS. While the matter is on appeal, of course there is a stay of execution on the verdict rendered and the judgment and sentence imposed is stayed so that nothing can be done any further with respect to that part of it, but it doesn't alter the status which the man is in.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Even so, Senator, I feel that when there is any question, certainly if a man were under question for treason in the Armed Services, he wouldn't be left in the line to carry on, while he was under questioning. And I feel that a situation like that has got to be dealt with by proper legal and—proper laws being established. If there's a question about a man's loyalty, he should be suspended until that matter is cleared up.

Senator JOHNSTON. All these questions about communism have come up within recent years. From your statement, then, you think it would probably be beneficial in a case like here, when a man has been convicted by a competent court, even though the case is on appeal, that he could not take any part in any labor organization nor anything deal-

ing with the general public even while his case is on appeal. Do you think that would be a good law?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Sir, I don't know; I can't answer you whether I think it would be good law or not, but it would certainly clarify a lot of issues and it would certainly speed up justice being done one way or the other, and you are certainly removing a lot of the opportunities for confusion and doubt about one thing and another that exists today.

Senator JOHNSON. Should the legislation make it a criminal offense for that man to take any part in any labor organization after his conviction until he has been cleared by a court of competent jurisdiction?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think that would help clarify matters.

Senator WATKINS. Mr. Chairman, at this point, I would like to make this observation. Sometime ago, at the beginning of these proceedings here, there was some suggestion made with respect to what should be done by the Attorney General under the Communist Control Act of 1954.

I have had prepared a short memo here and I think it would be well worthwhile to include, at this point in the record, the summary, as well as a copy of Public Law 637 of the 83d Congress being an act to outlaw the Communist Party, to prohibit members of the Communist organizations from serving in certain representative capacities and for other purposes.

I note that there is some difficulty in applying that particular act in many cases simply because a conviction, while it covers previous years, doesn't come within the 3-year period in the act itself. I would like to read this particular memo.

Effective management is the crux of a proceeding against alleged Communist-infiltrated unions. That term contemplates proof of Communist membership and activity within a 3-year period. In other words, from 1953 to 1956. Policies must be shown within the 3-year period, formulated and carried out pursuant to the direction of a Communist organization. Proof, of course, means, in all cases, probative evidence. Not just a lot of hearsay. Not "publicly known or identified," not "so referred to in the congressional committee" but proof by one in a position to know, invariably an ex-Communist who had direct firsthand knowledge. It must be shown that the union, within a 3-year period, has been affiliated in any way with any such Communist organization.

Matters relating to Communist funds and fronts are apposite in all cases, of course. Personal and direct knowledge of participants and members, not investigators relying upon hearsay or researches or compilation of printed matter.

It is of interest to score the point that in the Communist Control Act of 1954, all rights and contracts, wages, and pensions are preserved to the rank and file as the NLRB, upon petition of more than 20 percent of the employees of any unit, may act in their interest once the Subversive Activities Control Board and the courts have determined the union is Communist-dominated.

It is a long, complicated procedure. You talk about just an appeal from an ordinary criminal conviction being complicated which takes a lot of time, you can imagine how long it will take if they have to go to the Subversive Activities Control Board. And by the way, the constitutionality of that act has not yet been directly passed upon by the Supreme Court; and it has been operating now for a number of years. You can see how complicated it would be for the Attorney General, in the absence of the kind of evidence he needs, and which he can't get because the people who know would not testify. You can't make them testify because they might incriminate themselves. How are you going to prove all these things? So it is an extremely difficult situation.

I have some appreciation of what Senator Johnston has suggested here. That we may have to do some more legislating on this point. I am not satisfied that this act we passed in 1954 is the answer. Maybe we can't find an answer short of a constitutional amendment. But we certainly must try—that's one reason why we're here, incidentally, to find the answer, to get the facts.

You say we don't pay too much attention to you in Washington. We're here with a special investigation. And incidentally, there has been a lot of criticism because we came out here, to this beautiful place—a nice place to spend a vacation—and that we just came out here at Government expense to spend a vacation. And when we get here some of you people tell us we have been neglecting you in the past and we ought to have been here sooner.

At any rate, no matter who we are as individuals, what our individual views are, we are here representing the Congress of the United States, the Senate of the United States, carrying out its constitutional obligations and a duty imposed by an act of Congress. That's why we're here. Irrespective of what you may think of us individually, our beliefs or our political positions or anything of that sort, we do come clothed with the authority of the Senate of the United States under the Constitution which we are all supposed to uphold.

May this act itself be printed in the record at this point? More people ought to know what's in that law.

Senator JOHNSTON. It is ordered that this be printed in the record at this point.

(The document referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 398" and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 398

#### PUBLIC LAW 637—83D CONGRESS

AN ACT To outlaw the Communist Party, to prohibit members of Communist organizations from serving in certain representative capacities, and for other purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Communist Control Act of 1954".*

#### FINDINGS OF FACT

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares that the Communist Party of the United States, although purportedly a political party is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States. It constitutes an authoritarian dictatorship within a republic, demanding for itself the rights and privileges accorded to political parties, but denying to all others the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. Unlike political parties, which evolve their policies and programs through public means, by the reconciliation of a wide variety of individual views, and submit those policies and programs to the electorate at large for approval or disapproval, the policies and programs of the Communist Party are secretly prescribed for it by the foreign leaders of the world Communist movement. Its members have no part in determining its goals, and are not permitted to voice dissent to party objectives. Unlike members of political parties, members of the Communist Party are recruited for indoctrination with respect to its objectives and methods, and are organized, instructed, and disciplined to carry into action slavishly the assignments given them by their hierarchical chieftains. Unlike political parties, the Communist Party acknowledges no constitutional or statutory limitations upon its conduct or upon that of its members. The Communist Party is relatively small numerically, and gives scant indication of capacity ever to attain its ends by lawful political means. The peril inherent in its operation arises not from its numbers, but from its failure to acknowledge any limitation as to the nature of its activities, and its dedication to the proposition that the present constitu-

tional Government of the United States ultimately must be brought to ruin by any available means, including resort to force and violence. Holding that doctrine, its role as the agency of a hostile foreign power renders its existence a clear present and continuing danger to the security of the United States. It is the means whereby individuals are seduced into the service of the world Communist movement, trained to do its bidding, and directed and controlled in the conspiratorial performance of their revolutionary services. Therefore, the Communist Party should be outlawed.

#### PROSCRIBED ORGANIZATIONS

SEC. 3. The Communist Party of the United States, or any successors of such party regardless of the assumed name, whose object or purpose is to overthrow the Government of the United States, or the government of any State, Territory, District, or possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein by force and violence, are not entitled to any of the rights, privileges, and immunities attendant upon legal bodies created under the jurisdiction of the laws of the United States or any political subdivision thereof; and whatever rights, privileges, and immunities which have heretofore been granted to said party or any subsidiary organization by reason of the laws of the United States or any political subdivision thereof, are hereby terminated: *Provided, however,* That nothing in this section shall be construed as amending the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended.

SEC. 4. Whoever knowingly and willfully becomes or remains a member of (1) the Communist Party, or (2) any other organization having for one of its purposes or objectives the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of the Government of the United States, or the government of any State or political subdivision thereof, by the use of force or violence, with knowledge of the purpose or objective of such organization shall be subject to all the provisions and penalties of the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended, as a member of a "Communist-action" organization.

(b) For the purposes of this section, the term "Communist Party" means the organization now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America, the Communist Party of any State or subdivision thereof, and any unit or subdivision of any such organization, whether or not any change is hereafter made in the name thereof.

SEC. 5. In determining membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization defined in this Act, or knowledge of the purpose or objective of such party or organization, the jury, under instructions from the court, shall consider evidence, if presented, as to whether the accused person:

- (1) Has been listed to his knowledge as a member in any book or any of the lists, records, correspondence, or any other document of the organization;
- (2) Has made financial contribution to the organization in dues, assessments, loans, or in any other form;
- (3) Has made himself subject to the discipline of the organization in any form whatsoever;
- (4) Has executed orders, plans, or directives of any kind of the organization;
- (5) Has acted as an agent, courier, messenger, correspondent, organizer, or in any other capacity in behalf of the organization;
- (6) Has conferred with officers or other members of the organization in behalf of any plan or enterprise of the organization;
- (7) Has been accepted to his knowledge as an officer or member of the organization or as one to be called upon for services by other officers or members of the organization;
- (8) Has written, spoken or in any other way communicated by signal, semaphore, sign, or in any other form of communication orders, directives, or plans of the organization;
- (9) Has prepared documents, pamphlets, leaflets, books, or any other type of publication in behalf of the objectives and purposes of the organization;
- (10) Has mailed, shipped, circulated, distributed, delivered, or in any other way sent or delivered to others material or propaganda of any kind in behalf of the organization;
- (11) Has advised, counseled or in any other way imparted information, suggestions, recommendations to officers or members of the organization or to anyone else in behalf of the objectives of the organization;
- (12) Has indicated by word, action, conduct, writing or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the organization;

(13) Has in any other way participated in the activities, planning, actions, objectives, or purposes of the organization;

(14) The enumeration of the above subjects of evidence on membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization as above defined, shall not limit the inquiry into and consideration of any other subject of evidence on membership and participation as herein stated.

#### SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL ACT AMENDMENT

SEC. 6. Subsection 5 (a) (1) of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 (50 U. S. C. 784) is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the following: "or

"(E) to hold office or employment with any labor organization, as that term is defined in section 2 (5) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended (29 U. S. C. 152), or to represent any employer in any matter or proceeding arising or pending under that Act."

#### COMMUNIST-INFILTRATED ORGANIZATIONS

SEC. 7. (a) Section 3 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 (50 U. S. C. 782) is amended by inserting, immediately after paragraph (4) thereof, the following new paragraph:

"(4A) The term 'Communist-infiltrated organization' means any organization in the United States (other than a Communist-action organization or a Communist-front organization) which (A) is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by an individual or individuals who are, or who within three years have been actively engaged in, giving aid or support to a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement referred to in section 2 of this title, and (B) is serving, or within three years has served, as a means for (i) the giving of aid or support to any such organization, government, or movement, or (ii) the impairment of the military strength of the United States or its industrial capacity to furnish logistical or other material support required by its Armed Forces: *Provided, however,* That any labor organization which is an affiliate in good standing of a national federation or other labor organization whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Communist organizations, any Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement, shall be presumed *prima facie* not to be a 'Communist-infiltrated organization'."

(b) Paragraph (5) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(5) The term 'Communist organization' means any Communist-action organization, Communist-front organization, or Communist-infiltrated organization."

(c) Subsections 5 (c) and 6 (c) of such Act are repealed.

SEC. 8. (a) Section 10 of such Act (50 U. S. C. 789) is amended by inserting, immediately after the words "final order of the Board requiring it register under section 7", the words "or determining that it is a Communist-infiltrated organization".

(b) Subsections (a) and (b) of section 11 of such Act (50 U. S. C. 790) are amended by inserting immediately preceding the period at the end of each such subsection, the following: "or determining that it is a Communist-infiltrated organization".

SEC. 9. (a) Subsection 12 (e) of such Act (50 U. S. C. 791) is amended by—

(1) striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word "and"; and

(2) inserting at the end thereof the following new paragraph;

"(3) upon any application made under subsection (a) or subsection (b) of section 13A of this title, to determine whether any organization is a Communist-infiltrated organization."

(b) The section caption to section 13 of such Act (50 U. S. C. 792) is amended to read as follows: "REGISTRATION PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE BOARD".

SEC. 10. Such Act is amended by inserting, immediately after section 13 thereof, the following new section:

#### "PROCEEDINGS WITH RESPECT TO COMMUNIST-INFILTRATED ORGANIZATIONS

"SEC. 13A. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has reason to believe that any organization is a Communist-infiltrated organization, he may file with the Board and serve upon such organization a petition for a determination that such organization is a Communist-infiltrated organization. In any proceeding so instituted,

two or more affiliated organizations may be named as joint respondents. Whenever any such petition is accompanied by a certificate of the Attorney General to the effect that the proceeding so instituted is one of exceptional public importance, such proceeding shall be set for hearing at the earliest possible time and all proceedings therein before the Board or any court shall be expedited to the greatest practicable extent.

"(b) Any organization which has been determined under this section to be a Communist-infiltrated organization may, within six months after such determination, file with the Board and serve upon the Attorney General a petition for a determination that such organization no longer is a Communist-infiltrated organization.

"(c) Each such petition shall be verified under oath, and shall contain a statement of the facts relied upon in support thereof. Upon the filing of any such petition, the Board shall serve upon each party to such proceeding a notice specifying the time and place for hearing upon such petition. No such hearing shall be conducted within twenty days after the service of such notice.

"(d) The provisions of subsections (c) and (d) of section 13 shall apply to hearings conducted under this section, except that upon the failure of any organization named as a party in any petition filed by or duly served upon it pursuant to this section to appear at any hearing upon such petition, the Board may conduct such hearing in the absence of such organization and may enter such order under this section as the Board shall determine to be warranted by evidence presented at such hearing.

"(e) In determining whether any organization is a Communist-infiltrated organization, the Board shall consider—

"(1) to what extent, if any, the effective management of the affairs of such organization is conducted by one or more individuals who are, or within two years have been, (A) members, agents, or representatives of any Communist organization, and Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement referred to in section 2 of this title, with knowledge of the nature and purpose thereof, or (B) engaged in giving aid or support to any such organization, government, or movement with knowledge of the nature and purpose thereof;

"(2) to what extent, if any, the policies of such organization are, or within three years have been, formulated and carried out pursuant to the direction or advice of any member, agent, or representative of any such organization, government, or movement;

"(3) to what extent, if any, the personnel and resources of such organization are, or within three years have been, used to further or promote the objectives of any such Communist organization, government, or movement;

"(4) to what extent, if any, such organization within three years has received from, or furnished to or for the use of, any such Communist organization, government, or movement any funds or other material assistance;

"(5) to what extent, if any, such organization is, or within three years has been, affiliated in any way with any such Communist organization, government, or movement;

"(6) to what extent, if any, the affiliation of such organization, or of any individual or individuals who are members thereof or who manage its affairs, with any such Communist organization, government, or movement is concealed from or is not disclosed to the membership of such organization; and

"(7) to what extent, if any, such organization or any of its members or managers are, or within three years have been, knowingly engaged—

"(A) in any conduct punishable under section 4 or 15 of this Act or under chapter 37, 105, or 115 of title 18 of the United States Code; or

"(B) with intent to impair the military strength of the United States or its industrial capacity to furnish logistical or other support required by its armed forces, in any activity resulting in or contributing to any such impairment.

"(f) After hearing upon any petition filed under this section, the Board shall (1) make a report in writing in which it shall state its findings as to the facts and its conclusions with respect to the issues presented by such petition, (2) enter its order granting or denying the determination sought by such petition, and (3) serve upon each party to the proceeding a copy of such order. Any order granting any determination on the question whether any organization is a Communist-infiltrated organization shall become final as provided in section 14 (b) of this Act.

"(g) When any order has been entered by the Board under this section with respect to any labor organization or employer (as these terms are defined by section 2 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, and which are organizations within the meaning of section 3 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950), the Board shall serve a true and correct copy of such order upon the National Labor Relations Board and shall publish in the Federal Register a statement of the substance of such order and its effective date.

"(h) When there is in effect a final order of the Board determining that any such labor organization is a Communist-action organization, a Communist-front organization, or a Communist-infiltrated organization, such labor organization shall be ineligible to—

"(1) act as representative of any employee within the meaning or for the purposes of section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended (29 U. S. C. 157) ;

"(2) serve as an exclusive representative of employees of any bargaining unit under section 9 of such Act, as amended (29 U. S. C. 159) ;

"(3) make, or obtain any hearing upon, any charge under section 10 of such Act (29 U. S. C. 160) ; or

"(4) exercise any other right or privilege, or receive any other benefit, substantive or procedural, provided by such Act for labor organizations.

"(i) When an order of the Board determining that any such labor organization is a Communist-infiltrated organization has become final, and such labor organization theretofore has been certified under the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, as a representative of employees in any bargaining unit—

"(1) a question of representation affecting commerce, within the meaning of section 9 (c) of such Act, shall be deemed to exist with respect to such bargaining unit ; and

"(2) the National Labor Relations Board, upon petition of not less than 20 per centum of the employees in such bargaining unit or any person or persons acting in their behalf, shall under section 9 of such Act (notwithstanding any limitation of time contained therein) direct elections in such bargaining unit or any subdivision thereof (A) for the selection of a representative thereof for collective bargaining purposes, and (B) to determine whether the employees thereof desire to rescind any authority previously granted to such labor organization to enter into any agreement with their employer pursuant to section 8 (a) (3) (ii) of such Act.

"(j) When there is in effect a final order of the Board determining that any such employer is a Communist-infiltrated organization, such employer shall be ineligible to—

"(1) file any petition for an election under section 9 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended (29 U. S. C. 157), or participate in any proceeding under such section ; or

"(2) make or obtain any hearing upon any charge under section 10 of such Act (29 U. S. C. 160) ; or

"(3) exercise any other right or privilege or receive any other benefit, substantive or procedural, provided by such Act for employers."

SEC. 11. Subsections (a) and (b) of section 14 of such Act (50 U. S. C. 793) are amended by inserting in each such subsection, immediately after the words "section 13", a comma and the following: "or subsection (f) of section 13A,".

SEC. 12. If any provision of this title or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the title, and the application of such provisions to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

Approved August 24, 1954, 9:40 a. m., M. S. T.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I interrogate?

Senator JOHNSTON. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Dillingham, you were asked a question by the Senator from Utah with respect to what you could do, what evidence you had and what evidence you could use as a representative of this community, informing us as to whether or not a man was a convicted Communist or a member of the Communist conspiracy. I will ask you if it isn't a fact that you, as an ordinary human being, could take cognizance of the fact that a jury had found a man guilty of a violation of the Smith Act, which Smith Act is designed to punish a per-

son who advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. That would amount to evidence upon which you could base an opinion, would it not?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Definitely.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Dillingham, you've been a very splendid witness, not only for labor but for management, and for our freedom-loving peoples everywhere. You are mindful of the fact, aren't you, that in the crime in murder, in most cases bail is denied, for a charge of murder in the first degree. You are mindful of that fact?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, not locally, but I hope that's true, Senator.

Senator WELKER. In the jurisdictions in which I am permitted to practice on the mainland, bailable offenses do not include murder in the first degree. Now, I am asking you, Mr. Dillingham, if a person charged with murder, the killing of an individual, with malice aforethought, willfully and deliberately, should he be denied bail, wouldn't it be commonsense, wouldn't it be good justice, to deny bail to those charged with a violation of the Smith Act, which would overthrow our country by force and violence?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would be inclined to agree with you, Senator.

Senator WELKER. And if they were denied bail, I think you would agree with me that you would never have to wait for 3½ years to have a final adjudication of their lawsuit.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That's true, very true.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Dillingham, I want to go back to Secretary of Labor Mitchell. When did he make his remarks in San Francisco that offended Mr. Bridges—not Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, but Mr. Harry Bridges?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. He made those remarks on the plane, at the airport in San Francisco, it was either while going from one plane to the other or stopping overnight. I have forgotten how long he was in San Francisco. But it was while he—when he arrived in San Francisco, prior to his coming to Honolulu. It was either that day or the next day.

Senator WELKER. And what year was that?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That was this year.

Senator WELKER. Now, what part of this year?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Now, was it this year? It was last spring, Senator, if memory serves me right. Maybe it was—I really don't know. Isn't that awful? It was within a year, if memory serves me correctly.

Senator WELKER. And I think you told me that as a result of those remarks made by the Secretary of Labor, a work stoppage was called here in the islands?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No. The negotiations were called off.

Senator WELKER. Negotiations were called off.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Not only here in the islands but any other place?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Well, wherever they—No. They were here mainly, because it affected the negotiations that were going on here in Honolulu at the time. So it was all ILWU negotiations with management, going on at the time here in Honolulu.

Senator WELKER. That was because Mr. Bridges took offense at whatever was said at the airport by the Secretary of Labor?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. You are mindful of the fact that the Secretary of Labor is an appointee of President Eisenhower, a Republican administration?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And I suppose you read in the press prior to the November elections that Mr. Harry Bridges had decided he was a Republican?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes.

Senator WELKER. That is all.

Senator JOHNSTON. Any other questions?

We will have 2 minutes recess. The reporter has reached a point where it is necessary.

(A 2-minute recess was taken.)

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee will resume the hearing.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have just one question of this witness.

In your experience as a Territorial senator, were you able to observe that the top officials of the ILWU, about whom we have been talking, were able to exercise an influence over the Territorial legislature?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. You say "the top officials"?

Mr. MORRIS. The leadership of the ILWU.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes. Yes, sir. I think that's a fair statement. But I would like to point out, too, that there are others who exercised influence over the legislators too. I think it should be borne in mind, however, that under the way that our legislature has been apportioned for the past 55 years, that we are controlled in both houses by the outside islands, who populationwise don't represent probably more than a fourth of the population of this island alone. So that the so-called proportionate representation here is "out the window."

Now, Congress did reapportion us in your last session and that should have a beneficial effect. It certainly will be fairer to the people on a basis of proportionate representation than under that which we have had. Now, if we have, as we will have in this next session of the legislature, control of both houses by the outside islands, collectively, and you appreciate the fact that nobody, Republican or Democrat, can be elected on the outside islands virtually without the support of the ILWU, you can see just to that degree that the ILWU has an influence over the affairs of this legislature. But I would like to also add the ILWU has been disappointed in some of the results of this legislature too. It hasn't been entirely a one-way street. But you ask if they have exerted influence. They have, but so have other people.

Senator JOHNSTON. What you have called to our attention is that some of the islands have a small individual vote in electing their representatives. It makes it easy to go into that island and get control of the representatives from that island?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, because you see, as the labor population gains franchise—originally, these laborers were aliens and they didn't have the vote. So consequently, the relatively small groups on those islands that had the vote were of the managerial group and were not subject to union or labor, let's say, influence and so forth. But as the young people have come along, they are American citizens, full-fledged citizens, as you and I are. They have now formed that labor force that was formerly disfranchised, and they now have the franchise and the thing has been turned upside down. The big vote is the labor vote

on the outside islands today. And consequently, whichever particular union they are affiliated with is naturally going to have the influence over that membership. And in this case it happens to be the ILWU.

Senator JOHNSTON. Now, I know you want it plainly understood that you are not advocating that they do not have the representation, but they should have the representation closer in accordance with the amount of population?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Oh, yes, sir. Absolutely. And it has been taken care of very—I hope—satisfactorily, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. So you think our last act will do a lot of good in that direction?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think it will, so far as the people on this island are concerned, in giving us proportionate representation, yes.

Senator JOHNSTON. Any other questions?

We just wish to thank you for this valuable information and this background on the situation that exists here today.

We thank you very much.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. You are very welcome, I am sure. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much.

Senator JOHNSTON. We must not have any demonstrations here at these hearings. We are here to receive information. We are glad to have people come and testify, and testify freely without hiding behind the fifth amendment, but at the same time we must not have any more demonstrations.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Myer Symonds.

Mr. SYMONDS. I ask that the television be shut off.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SYMONDS. I do.

Senator JOHNSTON. Have a seat. Witness is with you.

### TESTIMONY OF MYER C. SYMONDS

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter, Mr. Symonds?

Mr. SYMONDS. My name is Myer C. Symonds. My address is 2122 Kaloa Way, Honolulu.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Symonds, you practice law here in Honolulu, do you not?

Mr. SYMONDS. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. And where were you born, sir?

Mr. SYMONDS. I was born in Sydney, Australia.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. SYMONDS. October 13, 1909.

Mr. MORRIS. And when did you come to the United States?

Mr. SYMONDS. 1920.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you graduated from the Hastings Law School in San Francisco in 1933, did you not?

Mr. SYMONDS. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And you practiced law in San Francisco until 1946, with the exception of 2 years, when you served as infantry sergeant in the United States Army?

Mr. SYMONDS. I was a PFC; I was in the infantry.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you——

Senator JOHNSTON. I think the record should show that the witness is represented here by counsel, and should give their names for the record.

Mr. ANDERSEN. Yes. My name is George R. Andersen. I appear for Mr. Symonds. I also appear for Mrs. Bouslog.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. And I also appear for Mr. Symonds; my name is Harriet Bouslog.

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you worked with the Office of Price Administration during the war, did you not, Mr. Symonds?

Mr. SYMONDS. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what you did with that particular governmental agency?

Mr. SYMONDS. I was the regional litigation attorney.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you serve with the OPA?

Mr. SYMONDS. From sometime early in 1942 until I was inducted into the Army sometime early in 1944. Is that the same as your record, Mr. Morris? Well, if I am not right, I would like for you to correct me. I know you have a better recollection of this than I do. You have your notes there.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you came to Hawaii after you were discharged from service, did you not?

Mr. SYMONDS. I came to Hawaii 10 years ago today.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were admitted to practice in February 1948?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes, I think that is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Symonds, did you attend the beginners class, professional section of the Communist Party, on August 17, 1943?

Mr. SYMONDS. What year?

Mr. MORRIS. August 17, 1943.

Mr. SYMONDS. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer that question for two reasons. First, on the basis of the first amendment, which was adopted as a restriction on the power of Congress to hold such a hearing as this. This committee has stated it does not recognize the first amendment in these proceedings. The Supreme Court has never said that the committee's position is correct. I feel confident that when the Supreme Court does consider what takes place in these hearings, that the first amendment will be restored to its proper place as a safeguard against such inquisitions of the people. And my second reason for declining to answer the question is——

Senator JOHNSTON. Let me rule on the first one. The first amendment we do not recognize as being a defense to keep you from answering any questions before this committee.

Mr. SYMONDS. My second reason for declining to answer the question is that in this day of the informer and the perjurer, any attorney representing unpopular clients over a long period of time faces a real risk of prosecution although innocent of any wrongdoing. The Kaufman case in Seattle involving a lawyer is a perfect example of that situation.

Senator BUTLER. What has that got to do with answering a question whether or not you attended a Communist school in 1943?

Mr. SYMONDS. I have not completed my answer yet, sir, and I would like to complete it.

The last three cases reaching the Supreme Court involving communism have been reversed because of perjury.

For these reasons, I stand on the fifth amendment, not to be a witness against myself.

Senator JOHNSTON. So you are not answering that question because of the right granted to you under the first amendment?

Mr. SYMONDS. That is right. Under the first amendment, which I consider to be really as important as the fifth amendment.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee does recognize your right under the fifth amendment but we do not recognize that you have any rights not to testify before this committee as far as the first amendment is concerned.

Proceed.

Senator WATKINS. Senator, I would like to state my position on that first amendment. I don't think the amendment goes as far as the witness claims it does. The first amendment, of course, whatever it means, is in full force and effect. In my judgment it does not give any immunity from testifying under the proceeding we are now conducting. In other words, it is not a valid reason for refusing to testify.

Senator JOHNSTON. Taking it from another angle, if you were talking freely and I tried to stop you, I think it might be something along that line. If you were answering questions freely and I tried to stop you from answering them freely, I think probably that amendment might have some application here.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I ask a few questions which will tend to define the claim of privilege that Mr. Symonds made just now? And I think in prefacing what I was about to ask, I would like to state that I heard Mr. Andersen—your counsel, Mr. Symonds—on radio last night. He made the statement—and we have a recording of it here, Mr. Andersen, in the event I misstate it, or you can tell me what it is—that the reason that you advise that Mr. Symonds not answer questions was that sometime in the future the Government might produce—the United States Government, not the Senate committee or anything else—might produce witnesses who would testify that Mr. Symonds is a member of the Communist—has been a member of the Communist Party, and lest this “perjurious testimony,” I think you called it, the prospect of this perjurious testimony come across Mr. Symonds' path at some time in the future, you would advise him that he not answer the question but claim his privilege under the fifth amendment.

Now, as an attorney, Mr. Symonds, you know that a claim of privilege on that basis alone, the prospect that somebody may come forward in the future and testify differently from the way you have testified does not uphold your claim of privilege. If so, to analyze it very carefully, it would make it possible for any witness, at any time, in any law court, before any legislative body, to refuse to answer. I mean that would completely cause the wheels of justice to grind to a standstill. Because if a man can say at any time: “If I answer that question now, somebody may come forward in the future and testify differently,” no witness could ever be compelled to answer any question at any time.

So, therefore, by your very essence, that particular line of reasoning naturally would have to be overruled, if that is the only reason for invoking the privilege under the fifth amendment. If, however, you reasonably feel that an answer to a question might be one link in a chain

of evidence that might possibly be introduced in some subsequent tribunal that could lead to your conviction for a crime, you are completely justified in claiming your privilege under the committee standards.

Now, do you, Mr. Symonds, invoke the privilege on the first ground only, namely, because of the possibility that, at some time in the future, somebody may come forward and testify perjurally?

Mr. SYMONDS. It is not my intention to engage in any speeches. I want the chairman to know that, and I want to make my answers as short as possible. But I realize that without my permission, this is going over the air, and I want the people that are listening in, as well as those people who are in this room, to understand the reasons for my answers, I intend to do it in lawyer-like fashion and with due respect to the committee.

In reply to Mr. Morris, I wish to state that I have a genuine fear of prosecution. I was one of the attorneys in the local Smith Act trial. I sat through an 8 months' trial and I saw 7 persons convicted, although there was not a shred of testimony by any witness that any one of them believed in overthrowing the Government by force and violence. And that gives me a genuine fear of prosecution, and I do feel that answers to the questions that are asked me might—

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman.

I thought you were just going to answer the question, rather than make a speech.

Mr. SYMONDS. That is just what I did.

Senator WELKER. Let's throttle back or there will be some speech-making here. Now, let's answer the question, please.

Senator JOHNSTON. And let me warn the—he's a lawyer and he knows his rights, but let me tell him one thing. We don't want any statements that really reflects upon the Court and the Court's decision that is now pending. We're not trying that case here, and we want you to know that.

Mr. SYMONDS. Mr. Chairman, you brought me here and you are asking me for my reasons. You are asking me to answer questions. These are my reasons. I wouldn't say that under any other circumstances they're not true. I am stating what I actually believe, and I actually believe that I am in danger of prosecution if I answer the questions of the committee.

Senator JOHNSTON. That's the main thing we want to know, if you believe that.

Mr. SYMONDS. I certainly do.

Senator JOHNSON. If you believe that, I have ruled that that is a valid excuse for you not answering.

Mr. SYMONDS. I also want the record to show that I equally stand on the first amendment, with due deference to the senior Senator from—

Senator JOHNSTON. Well, we cannot keep you from standing on that, but neither can you keep me from ruling on that.

Mr. SYMONDS. No, I can't.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I say the reason I did want—I made the statement that I did, lest the impression get into this record or be created that Mr. Symonds was claiming privilege only for some reason as suggested by Mr. Andersen last night, and I think his answer made it very clear that that was not the case.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think the witness has adequately clarified the situation.

Senator WATKINS. I want to see if I understand it. I understand that you claim the full protection of the fifth amendment, on the ground that if you give a truthful answer it might incriminate you?

Mr. SYMONDS. The fifth amendment states, in the language that Senator Welker stated at the first session, that I need not bear testimony or give evidence or testimony against myself.

Senator WATKINS. And you want the full protection under all of the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Mr. SYMONDS. I certainly do and under the first amendment.

Senator WATKINS. I want to make it clear that you are not just claiming it under one specific ground.

Mr. SYMONDS. No, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Symonds, did you attend this beginners class of the professional section of the Communist Party from August 17, 1943 up until September 3, 1943?

Mr. SYMONDS. I am unable to pinpoint it, as to these dates you are giving about things, and I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. For the reasons you have given?

Mr. SYMONDS. For the reasons I have already given.

Mr. MORRIS. Were meetings of the beginners class of the professional section of the Communist Party held in your home?

Mr. SYMONDS. May I have that question again?

Mr. MORRIS. Were any classes of the professional—or meetings, rather—of the beginners class of the professional section of the Communist Party ever held in your home?

Mr. SYMONDS. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Was this beginners class of the professional section of the Communist Party taught by a gentleman named Jules Carson—C-a-r-s-o-n?

Mr. SYMONDS. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you subsequently become membership director of the Lawyers Club of the Communist Party in San Francisco?

Mr. SYMONDS. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. When you joined the Army in 1944, were you a member of the professional section of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYMONDS. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. When you entered the Army, were you placed on military leave from the Communist Party?

Mr. SYMONDS. Would you repeat that question, please?

Mr. MORRIS. When you joined the Army, were you placed on military leave in the Communist Party?

Mr. SYMONDS. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1946 did you become—resume your position of membership director of the Lawyers Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYMONDS. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1946 did you become a member of the Haymarket branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYMONDS. May I have that question again, please?

Mr. MORRIS. In 1946 were you a member of the Haymarket branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYMONDS. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when you came to Honolulu, did you take an oath before the supreme court of the Territory that you had never been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYMONDS. I don't recall any such oath.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have subpoenaed the records of the chief clerk of the supreme court, and I understand he is available here with these records.

Senator JOHNSTON. Is he here now?

Mr. MORRIS. I understand he is.

Senator JOHNSTON. Produce them at this place in the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you come forward, please?

Senator JOHNSTON. While he is looking at the record, raise your right hand, please, and be sworn.

Do you swear the evidence you give before this subcommittee to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SPROAT. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF GUSTAVE K. SPROAT

Senator JOHNSTON. What is your name?

Mr. SPROAT. Gustave K. Sproat.

Senator JOHNSTON. What is your official position?

Mr. SPROAT. I am chief clerk of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii.

Senator JOHNSTON. In that position, it is your duty to keep the records, I believe?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir; I am custodian of the records of that court.

Senator JOHNSTON. And you are familiar with the records?

Mr. SPROAT. I am.

Senator JOHNSTON. Witness is with you.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would show this to Mr. Symonds, please?

(Mr. Sproat handed a document to Mr. Symonds.)

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify that paper, sir? Will you identify that paper that you just gave Mr. Symonds?

Senator JOHNSTON. What is the paper that you have in your hand?

Mr. SPROAT. This is a "verifax" copy of the original statement—questionnaire, rather—answered by Mr. Symonds before he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii.

Senator JOHNSTON. That is the customary oath that you have for members that are admitted to the bar, is that correct?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir, at that time.

Senator JOHNSTON. Of the supreme court.

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you have in that a statement that he was not a Communist at that time?

Mr. SPROAT. That is correct.

Senator JOHNSTON. Will you read the—

Senator BUTLER. I think it should be read. We want the exact statement.

Senator JOHNSTON. Read that first paragraph. Better just read the whole thing.

Mr. SPROAT (reading):

Answer yes or no. If your answer is "Yes," set forth in great detail all facts in connection therewith on a separate sheet of paper.

1. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America?

No.

2. Are you now or have you ever been a member of a Communist political association?

No.

3. Have you ever attended any meeting of a cell, faction, or unit of either the Communist Party of the United States or the Communist Political Association?

No.

4. Attached hereto is a copy of the letter dated November 24, 1947, from the Honorable Tom Clark, Attorney General of the United States to the Honorable Seth W. Richardson, chairman, Loyalty Review Board, Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C. The names of certain organizations, affiliated organizations and committees are set forth on pages 2 to 6, inclusive, of that said letter. Please peruse the list of names and in the margin of the letter, opposite the name of each such organization, affiliated organization or committee write "yes" or "no," according to whether or not you are now or have ever been a member of the same. If you are now or have ever been a member, write "yes"; if you are not now and have never been a member, write "no."

Are you now or have you ever been a member of any organization or committee, the name of which included the word "Communist"?

No.

6. (a) Are you now a member of any organization or committee which you have reason to believe is or has been dominated by, affiliated with, or sympathetic to the Communist Party of the United States of America or the Communist Political Association.

No.

(b) Have you ever been a member of any organization or committee which you had or now have reason to believe was dominated by, affiliated with, or sympathetic to the Communist Party of the United States of America or the Communist Political Association.

No.

7. Have you ever paid dues or made any donation or other financial contribution to the Communist Party of the United States of America or the Communist Political Association or any organization, affiliated organizations or committees listed in the aforesaid letter of the Attorney General Tom Clark, any organization or committee the name of which included the word "Communist" or any organization of a type which would have required an affirmative answer under questions.

No, except for contribution to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

That was the answer to 7.

8. If you were to be listed as a Communist in the records of any Federal investigative agency, what past action or organization or affiliation of yours not already listed by you might be used by such investigative agency to support its conclusion? In answering this question, assume that all of your past actions in organizations, affiliations, are known to such investigative agencies. None.

Signed "Myer Cyril Symonds, January 12, 1948," and filed by myself January 12, 1948, at 3:30 p. m. o'clock in the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii.

Senator BUTLER. Do you have a list of the organizations referred to in one of those questions?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir; I have.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, I feel the whole thing should be made a part of the record.

Senator JOHNSTON. This will become a part of the record in its entirety.

Mr. MORRIS. Only those portions of it, Mr. Chairman, that bear on the question of Communist Party activity.

Senator JOHNSTON. That is all that is necessary.

Mr. MORRIS. There are quite a few things in it and there are quite a few things in there that properly do not belong within this committee. I understand that it is a confidential file, is it not?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And except for those portions that relate to the present subject inquiry, I ask that none of the other things go into the record.

Senator JOHNSTON. It is understood that that portion of this document that has a reference to communism or dealing with the questions under discussion at the present time shall be included, and no other.

Senator BUTLER. My understanding is, this was an affidavit made by the witness at the time of his admission to the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Was it an affidavit, though?

Mr. SPROAT. It is not labeled an affidavit.

Senator BUTLER. It was not sworn to?

Mr. SPROAT. No, sir; it was not sworn to.

Senator WATKINS. Was the applicant put under oath when he was required to answer these questions? Does the record show he was put under oath by whomsoever investigated or asked the questions?

Mr. SPROAT. No, sir; he was not. The record does not show he was put under oath. Just answered the questions put forth by the court.

Senator WATKINS. That's the information I wanted to get, whether it was or was not. Whether it was or was not given under oath.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give that to Mr. Symonds? Let Mr. Symonds see that, please.

#### TESTIMONY OF MYER C. SYMONDS—Resumed

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Symonds, the answer to question 1: Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America? On this paper just identified by Mr. Sproat. You answered "No." Was that a truthful answer?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. SYMONDS. I would like to have my attorney have an opportunity to read the document first, before I answer the question.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Clerk, before whom was this affidavit made?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir.

Senator BUTLER. Before whom was this affidavit made? What judge presided?

Mr. SPROAT. No judge.

Senator JOHNSTON. While they're deciding: You asked him these questions, and he answered them before you. Is that right?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir.

Senator WATKINS. And is the witness in the chair the person who made those answers?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir, he is the person; answered in my presence.

Mr. MORRIS. Those were answered in your presence?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Clerk, while we are waiting for counsel to consult—

Senator JOHNSTON. Senator Butler.

Senator BUTLER. Is there any law of this Territory that requires this oath or this statement to be made by a man before he is admitted to the supreme court bar?

Mr. SPROAT. There is no law. These are governed by the rules for admission by the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii.

Senator BUTLER. It is under the rules of the court?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. May I ask a question? Mr. Clerk, in the event the answers to the questions were false, what effect would that have upon the person answering the questions; would he still be allowed to practice law or would the rules of the court take over with respect to disbarment or otherwise?

Mr. SPROAT. He would be subject to investigation, whatever the rules provided, by the court.

Senator JOHNSTON. To save time for the attorneys, I think it is only the first three pages that we are dealing with in regard to the question before the witness at the present time.

Mr. ANDERSEN. Are you addressing me, sir?

Senator JOHNSTON. Yes. It is only the first three pages.

Mr. ANDERSEN. Well, can't I look at this document? I think it is necessary.

Senator JOHNSTON. Just examine that. Read it all.

Mr. ANDERSEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I think the witness is ready to answer.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee will resume.

Mr. SYMONDS. I give the same answer to your question, Mr. Morris.

Senator WATKINS. May I have the question, so I will know just what he is claiming the fifth amendment with respect to?

(The reporter read the question as follows:)

When you came to Honolulu, did you take an oath before the supreme court of the Territory that you had never been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MORRIS. You said that you did not recall. Was the answer that you did not recall? And then subsequently I—may I resume again, instead of going back over the record, in the interest of time?

Did you write on a questionnaire the answer "N-o" to the question "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America?" I might add, Mr. Symonds, that Mr. Sproat, who has been sworn, said he saw you personally write the "N-o" there, in his presence.

Mr. Sproat just stated, did you not, Mr. Sproat?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SYMONDS. I might state, Mr. Morris, you have not asked me if I signed it yet.

Senator BUTLER. I didn't hear that.

Mr. SYMONDS. Mr. Morris has never asked me whether I signed it.

Mr. MORRIS. I asked you if you wrote the word "N-o" after the first question.

Mr. SYMONDS. This statement on the second page bears my signature, and I signed it.

Mr. MORRIS. And you signed it. Did you also write the word "N-o" after the first question?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator BUTLER. You nodded your head. Are you now trying to say "Yes"?

Mr. SYMONDS. Just a minute. I am trying to get the record straight myself.

Senator WATKINS. You nodded your head and he wanted the record to show what your answer was in the record. He can't get a nod in the record.

Mr. SYMONDS. I appreciate that, Senator. The first thing you want to know is whether I signed this. Is that what you want, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I asked you whether you signed it, also. I also asked you—the answer is elementary. I am going back to the time and start at the very beginning.

Mr. SYMONDS. I understood it.

Mr. MORRIS. The first thing is the "No"; did you write the "No" in there?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, was that answer a truthful answer to the question—the "No"?

Mr. SYMONDS. I give the same answer that I have given to the previous question, relying on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, I will go to Question 3, which reads:

Have you ever attended any meetings of the cell, faction or other unit of either the Communist Party of the United States of America or the Communist Political Association?

And did you write the word "N-o" after that question?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You did. Now, was that a truthful answer, that you gave at that time?

Mr. SYMONDS. I give the same answer, for the same reasons that I spelled out in my first answer to the question which I refused to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Again, in the interest of time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the witness if he signed the statement as his signature appears to be at the bottom of page 2, January 12, 1948. Did you sign that statement?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Were the answers given on pages 1 and 2, in other words, points 1 to 8, were they accurate when you wrote "No" to those 8 questions?

Mr. SYMONDS. I decline to answer those questions, that question, for the same reasons that I have heretofore given.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman. Not only were they accurate; were they true answers, when you wrote the word "No" after the questions? Were they truthful answers, Counsellor?

Mr. SYMONDS. Is that a question to me?

Senator WELKER. Sir?

Mr. SYMONDS. Was that a question directed to me?

Senator WELKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SYMONDS. My answer is the same.

Senator WELKER. That is, that you take advantage of the protection afforded you by the first and fifth amendments?

Mr. SYMOND. I don't "take advantage of the fifth amendment," sir.

Senator WELKER. Well, what are you doing, then?

Mr. SYMONDS. I rely on it.

Senator WELKER. Oh, you rely on it. You don't take advantage of it?

Mr. SYMONDS. That's correct.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Then you rely upon the first and fifth amendments?

Mr. SYMONDS. That is correct, Senator.

Senator WELKER. For your refusal to answer. And you are mindful of the ruling of the Chair with respect to the first amendment?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes, I am.

Senator WATKINS. I believe I will ask this question of the witness. Did you have any fear at the time you wrote those answers that you might be incriminating yourself, furnishing evidence against yourself?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. SYMONDS. The same answer.

Senator JOHNSTON. I believe you acknowledged you answered the questions at that time like they are written on the paper at the present time?

Mr. SYMONDS. That is correct.

Senator JOHNSTON. And that you signed your signature to the paper. Is that true?

Mr. SYMONDS. That is correct.

Senator JOHNSTON. Now, when you did that to the Supreme Court, you didn't perpetrate any fraud upon the Supreme Court in order to get a right to practice, did you—to practice law? You weren't perpetrating any fraud when you answered those questions in that manner to your Supreme Court in order for you to get a license to practice law; you didn't perpetrate any fraud in answering those questions, did you?

Mr. SYMONDS. Mr. Chairman, in reply to that question, the Supreme Court has just recently said that the fifth amendment was intended to protect the innocent. That's the case. Now, your question directed to me is solely for the purpose—you know what my position is about this statement—is now for the purpose of trying to hold me up to ridicule and scorn before these people and over the air, because you know already what my answers are, and you are not giving me the benefit of that presumption that the Supreme Court speaks about when you ask me that question. I say that advisedly, Mr. Chairman, because I want to respect the committee. I will answer the question by saying "Same answer," as I have before.

Senator JOHNSTON. You have a right to answer it in that form and I have a right to propound the questions and bring out the facts in the case.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman. Mr. Witness, did you mislead or make untruthful answers to the questions propounded to you by order of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii by the clerk of the Supreme Court at the date heretofore given, namely, January 12, 1948?

Mr. SYMONDS. Senator, I assume that you must have been busy doing something else when I just made a statement to the chairman, who tried to ask me—who did ask me the same kind of a question. Now, Senator, you are not affording to me the presumption of innocence that the Supreme Court says I am entitled to have. You're attempting by that question to hold me up to scorn and ridicule.

Senator WELKER. I have heard that twice. Now, will you answer my question?

Mr. SYMONDS. I will give you the same answer if you ask—

Senator WELKER. Of course you will.

Mr. SYMONDS. If you ask those questions all day, I will give it to you.

Senator WELKER. You are going to now take advantage of the fifth amendment and the first amendment.

Mr. SYMONDS. I am not taking advantage of anything.

Senator WELKER. You are going to rely upon the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SYMONDS. That's what the Supreme Court said.

Senator WELKER. In answer to my question:

Did you mislead or make untruthful answers to the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii, on January 12, 1948, when you were interrogated by the clerk of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii?

Now, you have taken your—you have relied upon the first and the fifth amendments in refusing to answer my question? Is that correct?

Mr. SYMONDS. The answer is the same.

Senator WELKER. And that answer is that you are relying on the first and fifth amendments? I want this in the record because we don't want to take any advantage of you. I want it to be as I think it should be. Now, once again, you rely upon the first and fifth amendments in refusing to answer my question whether or not you misled or made untruthful answers to the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii when you answered the questions propounded to you by the clerk thereof on January 12, 1948?

Mr. SYMONDS. Senator Welker, you repeated the question deliberately.

Senator WELKER. That's right.

Mr. SYMONDS. So it will go out over the air.

Senator WELKER. I am going to repeat it for 4 weeks more, until I get the answer that I am entitled to get.

Mr. SYMONDS. I gave you the answer.

Senator WELKER. Let's have it for the record, and I will be satisfied, sir.

Mr. SYMONDS. Do you want to repeat it again?

Senator WELKER. I want you to answer, to refuse to answer.

Mr. SYMONDS. I have given that answer.

Senator WELKER. All right.

Mr. SYMONDS. The same answer, Senator.

Senator WELKER. All right. Very well. And that same answer is, The first and fifth amendments—

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes, Senator.

Senator WELKER. To the Constitution of the United States.

Senator WATKINS. Did you answer "Yes," to that?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Chairman.

Senator JOHNSTON. Senator Butler.

Senator BUTLER. Will you look at the letter of November 24, 1947, from Attorney General Tom Clark, that I am about ready to hand you, and tell me whether or not you made the individual negative answers to each one of the associations or organizations listed on pages 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of that letter?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. ANDERSEN. What was the question, please?

Senator BUTLER. I want to know whether he personally answered each one of those questions in the negative and whether or not he personally wrote in the word "no" behind each one of the organizations mentioned on pages 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of that letter.

Mr. ANDERSEN. In other words, whether the handwriting is his?

Senator BUTLER. That is right.

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes. The answer is "Yes." Wherever the signature is—

Senator BUTLER. Thank you.

Senator JOHNSTON. Any other questions?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may both the questionnaire and the letter of the Attorney General go into the record at this time?

Senator JOHNSTON. They shall go into the record at this time.

(The document as described above was marked "Exhibit No. 399," and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 399

(Filed January 12, 1948, at 3:10 p. m., Gus K. Sproat, Clerk, Supreme Court.)

Answer "yes" or "no." If your answer is "yes," set forth in great detail all facts in connection therewith, on a separate sheet of paper.

(1) Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America? No.

(2) Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Political Association? No.

(3) Have you ever attended any meeting of a cell, fraction or other unit of either the Communist Party of the United States of America or the Communist Political Association? No.

(4) Attached hereto is a copy of a letter dated November 24, 1947, from the Honorable Tom Clark, Attorney General of the United States, to the Honorable Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C. The names of certain organizations, affiliated organizations and committees are set forth on pages 2 to 6, inclusive, of the said letter. Please peruse the list of names, and in the margin of the letter, opposite the name of each such organization, affiliated organization or committee write "yes" or "no," according to whether or not you are now, or have ever been, a member of same. If you are now, or have ever been a member, write "yes." If you are not now, and have never been a member, write "no."

(5) Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of any organization or committee the name of which included the word "Communist"? No.

(6) a. Are you now a member of any organization or committee which you have reason to believe is, or has been dominated by, affiliated with, or sympathetic to the Communist Party of the United States of America or the Communist Political Association? No.

b. Have you ever been a member of any organization or committee which you had, or now have, reason to believe was dominated by, affiliated with, or sympathetic to the Communist Party of the United States of America or the Communist Political Association? No.

(7) Have you ever paid dues or made any donation or other financial contribution to the Communist Party of the United States of America, the Communist Political Association, any of the organizations, affiliated organizations or committees listed in the aforesaid letter of Attorney General Tom Clark, any organization or committee the name of which included the word "Communist" or any organization of a type which would have required an affirmative answer under question (6)? No—except for contributions to Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. See answer to (7).

(8) If you were to be listed as a "Communist" in the records of any Federal investigative agency, what past actions or organizational affiliations of yours not already listed by you might be used by such investigative agency to support its conclusion? In answering this question, assume that all of your past actions and organizational affiliations are known to such investigative agency. None.

MYER CYRIL SYMONDS,  
January 12, 1948.

(7) Prior to 1944 I made financial contributions to the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee, which I believed was aiding the Spanish Republican Government and Spanish refugees. I was and am opposed to the Franco dictatorship, openly supported by Hitler and Mussolini. About 1941, President Roosevelt publicly stated that history and events had shown that the United States foreign policy with respect to Franco had been wrong.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,  
Washington, D. C., November 24, 1947.

HON. SETH W. RICHARDSON,  
*Chairman, Loyalty Review Board,  
Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. RICHARDSON: This is submitted pursuant to the President's Executive Order No. 9835 in which he stated that it is of vital importance that persons employed in the Federal service be of complete and unswerving loyalty to the United States, and further stated that although the loyalty of by far the overwhelming majority of all Government employees is beyond question, the presence within the Government service of any disloyal or subversive person constitutes a threat to our democratic processes. The order provided in part III, section 3, as follows:

"3. The Loyalty Review Board shall currently be furnished by the Department of Justice the name of each foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons which the Attorney General, after appropriate investigation and determination, designates as totalitarian, Fascist, Communist or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

"a. The Loyalty Review Board shall disseminate such information to all departments and agencies."

Under a previous Executive order (No. 9300), issued February 5, 1943, entitled "Establishing the Interdepartmental Committee To Consider Cases of Subversive Activity on the Part of Federal Employees," and under other relevant authority, the Department of Justice named a number of organizations as subversive. That list was disseminated among the Government agencies for use in connection with consideration of employee loyalty, and included the following organizations:

- American League Against War and Fascism. No.
- American Patriots, Inc. No.
- American Peace Mobilization. No.
- American Youth Congress. No.
- Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung). No.
- Black Dragon Society. No.
- Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai). No.
- Central Japanese Association of Southern California. No.
- The Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance (Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront). No.
- Communist Party of U. S. A. No.
- Congress of American Revolutionary Writers. No.
- Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan). No.
- Dante Alighieri Society. No.
- Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U. S. A., Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America). No.
- Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands). No.
- German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund). No.
- German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft). No.
- Heimuska Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaihei Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaihei Heimusha Kai (Japanese residing in America Military Conscripts Association). No.
- Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists). No.
- Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society—a group of Japanese War Veterans). No.

Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association). No.

Japanese Association of America. No.

Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai). No.

Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 1940. No.

Japanese Protective Association (recruiting organization). No.

Jikyoku Iin Kai (current affairs association). No.

Kibe Seinen Kai (association of United States citizens of Japanese ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan). No.

Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund), Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft). No.

Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kriegshilfswerk). No.

Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts). No.

Mario Morgantini Circle. No.

Michigan Federation for Constitutional Liberties. No.

Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans). No.

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. No.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. No.

National Negro Congress. No.

Nichiei Kogyo Kaisha (the Great Fujii Theatre). No.

Northwest Japanese Association. No.

Protestant War Veterans of the U. S., Inc. No.

Sakura Kai (patriotic society, or Cherry Association—composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War). No.

Shinto temples. No.

Silver Shirt Legion of America. No.

Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society). No.

Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers Association, Los Angeles). No.

Washington Book Shop Association. No.

Washington Committee for Democratic Action. No.

Workers Alliance. No.

Under part III, section 3, of Executive Order No. 9835, the following additional organizations are hereby designated:

American Polish Labor Council. No.

American Youth for Democracy. No.

Armenian Progressive League of America. No.

Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including [no]:

Civil Rights Congress for Texas. No.

Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York. No.

The Columbians. No.

Communist Party, U. S. A., formerly Communist Political Association, and its affiliates and committees, including [no]:

Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City). No.

Committee To Aid the Fighting South. No.

Dennis Defense Committee. No.

Labor Research Association, Inc. No.

Southern Negro Youth Congress. No.

United May Day Committee. No.

United Negro and Allied Veterans of America. No.

Connecticut State Youth Conference. No.

Council on African Affairs. No.

Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense. No.

Hungarian-American Council for Democracy. No.

International Workers Order, including People's Radio Foundation, Inc. No.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. No.

Ku Klux Klan. No.

Macedonian-American People's League. No.

National Committee To Win the Peace. No.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. No.

Nature Friends of America (since 1935). No.

New Committee for Publications. No.

Photo League (New York City). No.

Proletarian Party of America. No.

Revolutionary Workers League. No.

Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief. No.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. No.

Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League. No.

Your attention is also directed to certain organizations which are operated as schools. While, of course, I am not of the view that any institution of learning, devoted to the advancement of knowledge, is subversive, it appears that these organizations are adjuncts of the Communist Party. They are as follows:

Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Ill. No.

George Washington Carver School, New York City. No.

Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City. No.

Ohio School of Social Sciences. No.

Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art. No.

Samuel Adams School, Boston, Mass. No.

School of Jewish Studies, New York City. No.

Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Wash. No.

Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa. No.

Tom Paine School of Westchester, N. Y. No.

Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, N. J. No.

After the issuance of Executive Order No. 9835 by the President, the Department compiled all available data with respect to the type of organization to be dealt with under that order. The investigative reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning such organizations were correlated. Memorandums on each such organization were prepared by attorneys of the Department. The list of organizations herein certified is based on their recommendations as reviewed by the Solicitor General, the Assistant Attorneys General, and the Assistant Solicitor General, and my subsequent careful study of the recommendations of all.

In connection with the designation of these organizations I wish to reiterate, as the President has pointed out, that it is entirely possible that many persons belonging to such organizations may be loyal to the United States; that membership in, affiliation with or sympathetic association with, any organization designated, is simply one piece of evidence which may or may not be helpful in arriving at a conclusion as to the action which is to be taken in a particular case. "Guilt by association" has never been one of the principles of our American jurisprudence. We must be satisfied that reasonable grounds exist for concluding that an individual is disloyal. That must be the guide.

The organizations named in this letter do not represent a complete or final compilation. For example, a number of small and local organizations are not listed. As to many organizations not named, the presently available information is insufficient to warrant a final determination as to their character. Others, presently innocuous, may become the victims of dangerous infiltrating forces and, as a consequence, become proper subjects for designation. New organizations may come into existence whose purposes and activities are in conflict with loyalty to the United States.

From time to time, therefore, as contemplated and directed by the Executive order, there will be furnished to the board the names of those additional organizations and groups as to which the information received by this Department, resulting from continued investigation, indicates similar designations are required.

If I can be of further assistance to you in reference to the subject matter of this letter, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

TOM C. CLARK,  
*Attorney General.*

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Symonds, since you have come to Honolulu have you attended any meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. SYMONDS. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a Communist today?

Mr. SYMONDS. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions of this particular witness at this time. I told Mr. Andersen I was going to try to finish these two witnesses this morning so we can get on with our business. However, I have some other business to attend to, which I have taken up with the chairman of the committee, Senator Eastland,

and I ask if you will take the course of action that he has recommended.

We have a witness—Jean Tadaki King—who works in your office, does she not, Mr. Symonds?

Mr. SYMONDS. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, we have a doctor's certificate from Mrs. King, asking that she be excused from testimony. And Senator Eastland has recommended that we honor this request, that she not be required to testify.

Senator JOHNSTON. If you have a doctor's certificate to the effect that she is not able to be here, of course at this time I will have to acknowledge that.

Mr. MORRIS. I advised counsel, however, that we would mention that we did have evidence that Mrs. King is a Communist, has been a Communist, and that we were calling her in order to ask her about that particular matter.

Mr. ANDERSEN. I am her counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. That's right, Mr. Andersen.

Mr. ANDERSEN. What you stated is correct. I supplied you with the medical certificate.

Mr. MORRIS. We would give her opportunity to gainsay the evidence that we have that she was a Communist.

Senator JOHNSTON. We will give her the privilege to come in any day we are here or send in a sworn statement to the effect that she is not a Communist at any time in the future.

Any other questions?

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute, Senator. I have another question, but Senator Welker wanted—

Senator JOHNSTON. While we're waiting for other questions, Mr. Morris.

All of these answers were made in your presence and you saw Mr. Symonds sign his name. Is that true?

Mr. SPROAT. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Symonds, will you tell us generally what Mrs. King does in your office?

Senator JOHNSTON. You may sit down and get the other records.

Mr. SYMONDS. She is a paid secretary; she takes shorthand, and typing.

Mr. MORRIS. And she earned \$4,878.66 during the year 1954. Is that generally correct?

Mr. SYMONDS. We pay good salaries.

Mr. MORRIS. With respect to another witness who has been subpoenaed here, Mr. Chairman, Yoshiko O. Hall, who also works in your office, does she not?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, we received evidence that Mrs. Yoshiko O. Hall was a Communist. We asked her to appear. Counsel has requested that her appearance be confined to an executive session. I took this up with the chairman and he said that would be satisfactory to him. We have taken the testimony in executive session. May we put the executive session testimony into the record at this particular point?

Senator JOHNSTON. You have a right to put into the record at this time such evidence.

(The testimony of Mrs. Yoshiko Hall is as follows:)

Senator WATKINS. Will you stand and be sworn? Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the matter now before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. YOSHIKO HALL. Yes.

Mr. ANDERSEN. Senator and Mr. Morris, Mrs. Hall is a bit hard of hearing.

Senator WATKINS. Did you hear what I was saying, Mrs. Hall?

Mrs. HALL. Yes, I did.

### TESTIMONY OF MRS. YOSHIKO HALL

Senator WATKINS. Give your full name and address.

Mrs. HALL. My name is Yoshiko Hall.

Senator WATKINS. Where do you live?

Mrs. HALL. 1603-A Pala Drive.

Senator WATKINS. Do you have an occupation other than housewife?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. HALL. I am a secretary.

Senator WATKINS. You are a secretary?

Mrs. HALL. Yes, I am.

Senator WATKINS. And where are you employed?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. HALL. Bouslog & Symonds.

Senator WATKINS. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. What work do you do at Bouslog & Symonds?

Mrs. HALL. I am a secretary.

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mrs. HALL. I am a secretary.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, but can you tell us just generally what kind of work you do?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. HALL. I take dictation from the lawyers, take incoming calls, and when people come in, I announce them.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been working there?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. HALL. Approximately 9 years.

Mr. MORRIS. During that period have you been a Communist?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. HALL. I will refuse to answer that on the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a Communist now?

Mrs. HALL. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. That is all.

### TESTIMONY OF MYER C. SYMONDS—Resumed

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Symonds, you say you pay good salaries in your office. What does that compensation cover, what services?

Mr. SYMONDS. Is that question asked seriously, Senator?

Senator BUTLER. Well, I would like to know. You seem to think you pay such good salaries and she has been said publicly to have been a Communist. Do you pay her for any activities in that field?

Mr. SYMONDS. She is paid for being a very excellent secretary.

Senator BUTLER. You don't pay her for any services in the field of subversion? Do you or don't you?

Mr. SYMONDS. I have given you the answer that she's paid for typing, for taking shorthand, and for answering the telephone.

Senator BUTLER. No other service?

Mr. SYMONDS. That's all the service she renders.

Senator BUTLER. And you don't pay her for any other type or kind of service?

Mr. SYMONDS. That's the only service.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Symonds, there is a Marian H. Roffman—Does Marian H. Roffman work in your office?

Mr. SYMONDS. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Has she?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is she the wife of Max Roffman, who has appeared here during this hearing?

Mr. SYMONDS. Yes, she is.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say this, that I will have the executive session testimony and Mr. Cowart has arranged to have it available sometime this afternoon, if you want to see it; this is a public record.

Mr. SYMONDS. You mean of all of it?

Mr. MORRIS. No, the executive session testimony of Mrs. Yoshiko Hall.

Senator JOHNSTON. You may see that. And if she has any answer to it, we will be glad to have it.

Mr. ANDERSEN. I represent her. I assume you simply mean the testimony that she gave in the executive session.

Mr. MORRIS. You were present, Mr. Andersen. It will be available——

Mr. ANDERSEN. I have no desire to see it.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions of this particular witness, Mr. Chairman.

Senator JOHNSTON. Just to close this, I think this should be called to your attention and put into the record.

You will find that lawyers and other Government employees prior to the time that you were before the Supreme Court had answers that were not as extended as this. Then the Court, the Justice Department, put this out, and did not require an affidavit at that time. Today you will find that Government employees and all do sign an affidavit to the answers to the questions. We have tightened, gradually tightened up on this matter. I wanted to call that to your attention.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions of this witness, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. Witness excused. Next witness.

Senator WATKINS. I may want to call him back on another matter.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think the witness will be here in the courtroom. So you be ready, if we should want to call you back.

Mr. MORRIS. Stand and be sworn.

Senator JOHNSTON. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you give before this subcommittee of the United States Senate to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. HARRIET BOUSLOG SAWYER

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, please?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I make the same request about television, please?

Senator JOHNSTON. So ordered. The witness will not be televised while she is on the witness stand, at her request.

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter, please.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Harriet Bouslog Sawyer. I practice law and I am known as Harriet Bouslog, and I prefer here to be called Mrs. Bouslog. My address is 1659 Sherman Park Place, Honolulu.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I was born in Florida.

Mr. MORRIS. And will you tell us what college and law school you attended?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I have an LL. B. degree from Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you first admitted to the practice of law?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. In the year 1936, in the State of Indiana.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you come to the Territory of Hawaii?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. 1939.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you admitted to the bar in the Territory of Hawaii?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. In 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. What positions have you held—what public positions have you held in the Territory of Hawaii?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I haven't held any public positions except the one that you questioned me about this morning in executive session. I told you that I was employed by Mr. Roy Vitousek, who, for a brief time, asked me to work with the Honolulu Police Department, in the chief of police's office, after Mr. Vitousek became an acting or assistant chief of police right after December 7, 1947—or 1941. And at Mr. Vitousek's request, I worked in the police station while he was acting chief, for a very brief period of time and then I went back to the law office. But Mr. Vitousek made all the arrangements, and I believe I was on the payroll as an employee of the police department for the time I worked down there, and that was at his request.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how long did you remain in Honolulu? Now we have—that was 1941-42, you say. Is that right?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I came in 1939 and I left in August of 1942.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, where did you go when you left here in August 1942?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Washington, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, what did you do in Washington, D. C., at that time?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. As an attorney for the National War Labor Board.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you serve as an attorney with the National War Labor Board?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to advise with my counsel, please.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I worked—may I have the question again, please?

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you remain as attorney with the National War Labor Board?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Over a year. I have forgotten. Perhaps your records are clearer than mine. And my memory is not accurate as to just exactly how long it was. But it was over a year.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, what did you do subsequent to that?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult my counsel, please.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I was the Washington representative of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you hold that position?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult with my counsel, please.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I resigned in about—I believe about the middle of 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. And what did you do thereafter? Did you return to the Territory of Hawaii at that time?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult with my counsel, please.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I came back to Hawaii and resumed the practice of law.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we talked with a witness in Washington—in New York, rather—on November 7 of 1956, and this witness has told us some things about the particular period that we have just covered with Mrs. Bouslog.

I would like to read from the statement of this particular witness, whom I will identify, and ask you as we go along whether or not the testimony of this particular witness that we have in the files and that we had before this committee is accurate. The witness I am referring to, Mr. Chairman, is a woman whose name is now Mrs. Edward A. Swan, she's a New York schoolteacher, and she resides in New York City. She formerly was known as Dorothy K. Funn.

Did you know a woman named Dorothy K. Funn, Mrs. Bouslog?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult with my counsel.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I am going to rely on my rights under the first and fifth amendments. And in this respect, I would like to adopt the statement made by Mr. Symonds as to the reasons why I rely on the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. They were the reasons given by Mr. Symonds here this morning?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Yes. In his first answer. Rather than taking the committee's time. I want it clear that I rely on both the first and fifth amendments, because I feel I have that right under the Constitution.

Senator JOHNSTON. We accept the fifth amendment but we still disagree on your rights under the first amendment not to answer.

Senator WATKINS. I wanted to ask this question, Mr. Chairman, with respect to the fifth amendment. Does the witness have any—

thing—are you withholding anything or just taking part of the fifth amendment, or do you rely on the full effect of the fifth amendment?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I rely upon that part of the fifth amendment, Senator, which says that—

Senator WATKINS. “That part”?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I rely on that part of the fifth amendment which says that no person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the witness has told us, Senator, and I am now quoting from Mrs. Swan.

I don't know if Harriet—  
meaning Harriet Bouslog—

was a legislative representative of Bridges' ILWU.

Now, I think the witness has confirmed here this morning that she in fact was the legislative representative of the ILWU. Did you not, Mrs. Bouslog?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult with my counsel as to that question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, Mrs. Bouslog.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mr. ANDERSEN. May we have that question read, please?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I said here, I quoted from the witness.

I don't know if Harriet was a legislative representative of Bridges' ILWU union. ILWU.

I said then:

You have already stated, have you not, that you were in fact the legislative representative of the ILWU in Washington, at that time?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The record will show my former answer.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. [Reading:]

That is, I don't know if she had the title but she did a lot of legal work for the union.

Did you, in fact, do a lot of legal work for the ILWU in the period 1943 approximately, in Washington?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult with my counsel.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Yes, I did legal work for the ILWU.

Mr. MORRIS (reading):

She may have done some work—  
and again I am quoting:

She may have done some work for the National Maritime Union too.

Did you do some work for the National Maritime Union too?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult with my counsel.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mr. ANDERSEN. Did you refer to—what union did you mention?

Mr. MORRIS. I will read it again, Mr. Andersen.

She may have done some work for the National Maritime Union too.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I don't recall doing any work for them. I did legal work for the ILWU.

Mr. MORRIS (reading) :

She had a desk in the same suite of offices that was shared by the NMU, the ILWU, and other maritime groups.

Is that accurate; is that true?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I want to consult with my counsel.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Would you repeat the question again, please?

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Would you repeat the question again, or have the reporter read it, please?

Mr. MORRIS. I will repeat it; I think it will save time that way.

The question was:

She had a desk in the same suite of offices that was shared by the NMU, the ILWU, and other maritime groups.

Is that a truthful statement?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. At the moment, I just don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, she goes on to tell us "I met Harriet regularly at Communist Party cell meetings of the legislative branch of the various Communist Party unions, namely, the UE, the AEA, the Mine, Mill, United Public Workers, United Office and Professional Workers of America, United Auto Workers, and Federation for Constitutional Liberties, et cetera."

Now, did Mrs. Swan, now, formerly known as Mrs. Funn, Dorothy K. Funn, regularly meet you at Communist Party cell meetings of the legislative branch of the various Communist Party unions that I read?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult with my counsel?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I give the same answer I have given before, on the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS (reading) :

Now this cell was headed by Albert Blumberg.

Now, did you attend meetings of the Communist Party, Communist Party cell meetings presided over by Albert Blumberg?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult with my counsel?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Senator JOHNSON. Now, by "The same answer," you mean the first and fifth amendments?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I mean the first and fifth amendments, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. The ruling of the Chair will be the same. We do not accept your right to not answer under the first amendment but we do under the fifth amendment, if you believe that it would incriminate you if you answered the question truthfully. Do you believe it would incriminate you?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I have that feeling, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, may I continue, Mr. Chairman, reading from the statement of Mrs. Funn—Mrs. Swan:

By Albert Blumberg, who was the Party brains for the area.

To your knowledge, was Albert Blumberg the party brains, Communist Party brains, for the area?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I will read on:

We would discuss party affairs, get literature, pay dues, and then shift into a discussion of the work we were doing for our organization.

Is that accurate testimony?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS (reading). The cell was just for legislative representatives, it had no particular name or number.

Were you a member of such a cell, Mr. Bouslog?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS (reading). We had many informal party get-togethers at Harriet's home.

Is that a truthful statement?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS (reading). She lived up around U Street.

Did you live near U Street?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult with my counsel, please.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS (reading). Whenever Harry Bridges was in town, Harriet would give a party. Blumberg was always at these gatherings with Bridges.

Is that statement accurate? I will read it again.

Whenever Harry Bridges was in town, Harriet would give a party. Blumberg was always at these gatherings with Bridges.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Senator JOHNSTON. I want the record to show that after each time "The same answer" she makes—when she says that, I want the Chair to be understood as saying that he makes the same ruling in each instance, too.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, the next—what I have here now from Mrs. Swan, contains the names of many other individuals who were identified by her as Communists who were active in Washington at that time. Consistent with the practice that we have followed, inasmuch as some of these people haven't been called before us, I would like now to end this particular phase by asking a few general questions, rather than ask specific questions about specific individuals.

Senator JOHNSTON. You may proceed in that manner.

Mr. MORRIS. Were Communist Party dues collected from you at that time?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. This particular information we have, the testimony that we have, is to the effect that a particular person collected the dues. But I don't want to mention that person's name, Senator.

Now, at these meetings, did Blumberg—that is Albert Blumberg—bring in material for Communist Party discussions?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. I now go back to what Mrs. Swan has told us.

As I said, we discussed Communist Party principles and then shifted the discussion to issues before Congress, how we were making out in our visits to the Hill; we took assignments, formulated plans to visit Senators and Representatives on issues of the moment. Harriet was well educated and always gave her opinion on everything.

Are those statements true?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I want the advice of my counsel.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. You would not care to deny any of those things that Mrs. Swan has told us? Is that right, Mrs. Bouslog?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, since you have been here in Honolulu, in Hawaii, have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Just a moment, please.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a Communist now, Mrs. Bouslog?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions of this particular witness.

Senator JOHNSTON. Any questions by any member of the committee?

Senator WELKER. No.

Senator WATKINS. I want to ask a question. Are you attorney for the Honolulu Record?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult with my counsel, please?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Any clients I represent come within the realm of attorney-client relationship.

Senator WATKINS. You mean just the names of them?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Any clients I represent come within that privilege, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. I doubt that very much. No confidential matter there. You represent them in court. Have you ever represented the Honolulu Record in court?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to talk to my counsel, please.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Senator, I guess we will have to disagree on that. I think the names of the clients I represent do come within that privilege of the attorney-client relationship, at least so far as my divulging that relationship is concerned.

Senator WATKINS. You mean—you can't divulge, of course, the matter, the confidential matter given to you by your clients—but I never considered it went so far as you couldn't even mention the names of your clients.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. It is the client's right to name his attorney, not the attorney's right to name the client, as I understand it.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I ask a question? Is it true, Mrs. Bouslog, that when the officials of the Honolulu Record appeared here, you appeared as their counsel before this committee?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I appeared here as attorney for individuals who had been subpoenaed by this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. But not for the publication itself?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I appeared here for individuals.

Senator WATKINS. Do you know whether or not those individuals you appeared for were the officers or stockholders of the Honolulu Rec-

ord? I am not asking you to say anything more than whether you know or don't know. That will require a "Yes" or "No" answer.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Just a minute, Senator.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Any clients that I represent, and the information that I have from those clients, is protected, according to my understanding and belief, by the attorney-client relationship as well as by the first amendment to the Constitution, and it seems to me that it is particularly appropriate that attorneys should zealously guard the matters that have been entrusted to them by their clients.

Senator WATKINS. That would be so even though you knew that a person had committed a heinous crime; it would be your obligation to keep sacred and inviolate their identity?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Senator Watkins, I think that the relationship between an attorney and his client is of the same character as between a doctor and his patient and as between a minister and his parishioner, and I believe that the things that I know from my client, even those of the kind, if they should exist, would be within the scope of that privilege, and that no lawyer worth his salt would go and denounce his client to the law officials whose duty it is to find out what are the violations of the law.

Senator WATKINS. Even though that client has committed treason against his own country, you think it would be your duty to protect him in that, as a lawyer?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I believe our Constitution gives every person the right to counsel, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. Yes.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. And that right itself is written right into the Constitution. And no lawyer worth his salt would violate the constitutional rights of his client to the effective assistance of his counsel. And counsel who desires to be a stool pigeon certainly wouldn't be a very effective counsel.

Senator WATKINS. But suppose some person who has committed a heinous crime asked you for protection and shelter. Would you grant it? Or would you turn him over to the law? Now, what would you do?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult, please?

Senator BUTLER. You certainly shouldn't have to consult.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I think this would take a conference of lawyers to decide.

Senator BUTLER. Would it? Whether or not you would turn a murderer over to justice, who comes to you and says he has murdered somebody, and wants you to shield him?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Senator BUTLER. What is your answer?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. My answer is that the books are full, the law books—

Senator BUTLER. I am not interested in what the books are full of. I am interested in—

Mrs. BOUSLOG. —of what—

Senator BUTLER. Would you shield a person that you know to have been guilty of a crime, who comes to you for asylum, or would you

turn him over to the law? That's the only thing I want to know. What would you do as a lawyer?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I think that the constitutional right of a person to counsel, under the sixth amendment, includes the right to divulge information in confidence to that lawyer.

Senator BUTLER. It also requires a lawyer to turn that person over to the law and then give him counsel. But do you tell me and this committee and the people of this Territory that you would shield a known criminal and not turn him over to the law?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would like to consult my counsel.

Senator BUTLER. You would take the law in your own hand, would you?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Senator, you are a lawyer. I disagree with your version of what the law is. I believe——

Senator BUTLER. Will you define for this committee, then, what your idea is when somebody says you have compounded a felony, what would you be guilty of?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I believe that the lawyer-client——

Senator BUTLER. Will you answer that simple question? You're a lawyer. You can answer that.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Let me give an illustration. That every person who is accused or who has been accused of committing murder——

Senator BUTLER. I am not talking about being accused. I asked you a simple question. A person comes to you, you know he has committed a crime, he's at large, and he asks you for asylum. Would you turn him over or would you shield him and help him escape? Now, I'm just asking you that simple question.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Under our law, everyone is innocent until he is proven guilty, Senator, by the processes of the law.

Senator BUTLER. Even though he has committed a crime, you would compound that crime or felony and shield him? Is that what you are telling this committee?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Your version of the effect——

Senator BUTLER. Answer that yes or no. Would you or would you not?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. That is your version of the effect——

Senator BUTLER. I don't care what my version is. I want you to answer that question yes or no.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Would you repeat the question, please?

Senator BUTLER. I will repeat the question. If a person comes to you and admits to you, as an attorney and a member of the bar of the Territory of Hawaii, that he has committed a heinous crime and wants asylum, would you give him asylum or would you turn him over to the authorities? Which would you do?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult with my expert counsel, please?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. If a murderer came to my office, Senator, and sought my legal advice, I would give him my legal advice and he would leave my office as any other client.

Senator BUTLER. In other words, if a murderer came to your office and asked you whether or not you could help him avoid the toils of the law, what would you do?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would give him—my oath as a lawyer requires that I give legal advice to those who seek my help, and if someone——

Senator BUTLER. Suppose that advice is, "How can I get out of this thing. I have committed this murder. How can I get out of it? And can I get out of this thing, out of this fate?" And so forth. What would you tell him?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Excuse me just a minute, Senator.

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Senator, under the ethics of the legal profession and under the Constitution of the United States, every person is innocent until proven guilty.

Senator BUTLER. I know that.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. And he has the right to a trial.

Senator BUTLER. But the case I am citing to you is: This man comes to you and tells you that he has committed a crime. Now, what is your duty as a lawyer? Just answer that simple question.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. My duty as a lawyer is to see that he has his rights under the law.

Senator BUTLER. Well, how do you see to that? You see he is first apprehended, don't you, and then his rights start.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Well, lawyers perhaps may disagree. I have explained to you, Senator, that——

Senator BUTLER. You don't feel that you have any duty or obligation to assist in the enforcement of the law?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I have a duty and an obligation to give advice to persons who seek my help.

Senator BUTLER. Even though they admit to you that they are guilty? They come to you and tell you they have committed a crime, and ask you what to do. Now, doesn't your oath make you turn them over to the authorities before you can deal with them as a lawyer and client?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Under the law of the United States, Senator, that is not the case. No person is guilty until he is proved guilty in a court.

Senator BUTLER. In other words, you wouldn't do that?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. No person is guilty until he is proved guilty in court.

Senator BUTLER. You wouldn't advise him to go to the proper authorities and turn himself over?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. What?

Senator BUTLER. You wouldn't advise him to turn himself over to the authorities?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. You are asking what advice I would give him when he sought my legal advice.

Senator BUTLER. There he is. Would you——

Mrs. BOUSLOG. That would depend upon the facts and circumstances of the case, Senator.

Senator BUTLER. If he admitted to you that he had committed a crime, aren't you under a duty to tell him to turn himself over to the law and then you will represent him, and if you don't do that, aren't you an accessory as to the fact?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult before I answer?

Senator BUTLER. You oughtn't have to consult. You're supposed to be a lawyer. They just said you are a very brilliant lawyer, and I

believe you are. And I also have observed that you seem to be a little more successful giving advice than you do following it. You gave a lot of other people advice on these questions. Why do you need so much now?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The Senator knows that a lawyer who represents himself has a fool for a client.

Senator BUTLER. Well, that's right too.

(The witness consulted with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The advice I would give to a client would depend upon the facts and circumstances. Under certain circumstances, I might give the advice you suggest. But as I say, I can't take a speculative case.

Senator BUTLER. Well, let's suppose somebody came to you and said, "I've just committed an act of treason." What would you do? That's a simple question. Now, what would you do? As a lawyer.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Excuse me, Senator. May I consult, please?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I would advise that person the same as I would advise any other person, Senator.

Senator BUTLER. Well, what would your advice be. It's universal. What is it now?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The advice that I would give that client or any client is privileged and confidential, but the advice I would give him would depend upon the facts that he told to me.

Senator BUTLER. I have just been handed a memorandum here. Sections 4 and 5 of title 18 of the United States Code provide as follows:

Any person who has or obtains knowledge of commission of a felony will forthwith report such fact to proper authority of government. If not, he is guilty of misprision of felony.

Do you agree? Do you think that's a salutary law or do you have a law of your own that you apply in such cases?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult with my client—with my counsel?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. According to my understanding, and I think probably the understanding of most of the lawyers in this Territory with whom I practice for some years now, that doesn't apply to the confidential relationship between attorney and client. That is not my understanding.

Senator BUTLER. I have no further questions. I give up, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I have one question?

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed.

Senator WELKER. Madame Witness, you of course don't want to leave the inference here before this committee that you would be a party to compounding a felony such as treason or murder. You know what compounding a felony is, don't you?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult with my counsel, please?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I have practiced law, well and honorably, and I will continue to practice as my oath requires, Senator.

Senator WELKER. I don't think that's answering the question. Do you know what compounding a felony is? I am really going to try to help you out of this little dilemma.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Would you please define it for me, Senator. Please.

Senator WELKER. Yes. One who condones or agrees to or takes part in the——

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I can't hear you, Senator.

Senator WELKER. After action of a felony; one who suppresses that act from the constituted authority of the government is equally guilty in the eyes of the law.

Now, isn't it a fact that you would do this, Madame. If a man came to you and told you that he had committed a felony, such as treason or murder, you would advise him at once to report to the proper administrative—administrators of law and of justice, give himself up, and then you would proceed from that time hence to defend that man, as your oath would provide you to do. Isn't that a fact?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. May I consult, please?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I am limited to advising clients. Now it may be in a particular case I would do just what you suggest, but it would depend upon the facts that were given to me in each individual case.

Senator WELKER. You would do nothing whatsoever to see that justice be carried out, whether it be the acquittal of your client or the conviction of your client; you would hold that secret in your own confidence, your own heart, rather than report it to the authorities?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. BOUSLOG. A lawyer must hold everything that his client tells him in confidence inviolate.

Senator WELKER. Very well. But again let me reiterate the words asked you by Senator Butler. When he comes to you and tells you that he has killed a person at such and such an address, do you believe it is the duty of a counselor or an attorney to keep that information inviolate and not advise your client to report to the authorities?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I said that under certain circumstances, depending upon the facts of each case, I might give just the advice that you have suggested, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Well, I am just giving you this one hypothetical little question. Assuming that a man comes to you and tells you that he has committed an act of treason or sabotage against the Government of the United States, and he relates to you exactly what those acts are. Now, would you tell him to report immediately to the authorities or would you keep that a secret in your own heart?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I think I've given you the best answer that I can, Senator. I think our discussion is almost the same as with Senator Butler.

Senator WELKER. Very well. I am entitled to interrogate too, and I want the answer.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The same answer I gave to Senator Butler.

Senator WELKER. It depends upon the individual case. Would that be it?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. And my understanding of the constitutional right of counsel, of the client to counsel, and of the co-equal right to have his confidence, once given to his attorney, maintained.

Senator WELKER. Let me ask you this. Why wouldn't you ask him to go down and report the fact to the——

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I probably would, Senator.

Senator WELKER. To the constituted authorities of the government and then you take your duty as a counselor and defend him to the best ability that you might have?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I probably would, but it would depend upon the facts and circumstances.

Senator WELKER. In other words, you would be the judge instead of the judiciary or the prosecuting official, as to whether or not an indictment should be filed against this man?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I believe under our system of government every person is innocent until proven guilty.

Senator WELKER. Now, we have heard that many times, and I don't think there's a freshman in law school any place in the United States or its Territories that doesn't know that fact.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Except Senate Committees.

Senator WELKER. Except Senate committees? Madame, I might tell you that I've defended more people accused of crime than you have, and I've practiced a great deal longer than you have. And I'm trying to be fair on this, and I believe these Senators here are just as well educated, some them far more educated in the field of law than you are.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I have no doubt—I defer to the legal education and experience of the Senators.

Senator WELKER. Well, you know they're all, and some of them are outstanding men on this committee, having had judicial experience, prosecuting experience and defense experience. So your reflection about the Senators on this committee not knowing any law I don't believe is well taken.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I didn't say that, Senator.

Senator WELKER. You said we didn't understand.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I did not. I said that you haul people in here as if they were guilty of something. You are not respecting the presumption of innocence. You have called numerous witnesses in here, treating them as if they were guilty of some crime, and they are guilty of nothing, under our Constitution.

Senator JOHNSTON. The witness will have to say that every one of them has been given a right to answer the questions, "Yes" or "No."

Senator WELKER. Have we been such terrible people by asking these questions that you have heard daily propounded here, and you have been most of the time advising those people called before this committee to take the fifth amendment. That is a fact, isn't it?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I think your hauling them here is the thing that is wrong, Senator.

Senator WELKER. We're hauling them here?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Under compulsion, to testify as to their beliefs and their associations.

Senator WELKER. Do you know any of your clients who have been hauled here who ought not to have been hauled before this committee?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I think no one should be forced to testify against himself before this committee, and that this committee should not issue subpoenas to persons, because you are not, gentlemen, the executive or the judicial branch of the Government, in whom solely rests the prosecutions for crime. You are not here to investigate crimes; you are here to—for an entirely different purpose.

Senator WELKER. Right.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. And that is your function. And I feel that you are treading upon a field in which you as a congressional committee have no right to tread, in forcing these people to come in and testify as to their beliefs, their associations, and trying to get them to testify about their trade unions and their newspaper. I think you have exceeded your powers, gentlemen.

Senator WELKER. Now, will you name just one of the witnesses who has been called before this committee that ought not to have been called before the committee?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I think none of the persons who were brought here under compulsion should have been brought here, gentlemen.

Senator WELKER. In other words, we might just as well give up and forget the investigation of communism and the protection of our country and the internal security angle and permit them all to range at large and at field and this legislative committee that you are now appearing before should cease operation. Is that your idea of it?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I did not say that, Senator. I said—You came here to put on a show for the people here. Mr Morris had all the information that he asked these people.

Senator JOHNSTON. We are not going to have any reflections upon this committee. We came here to try to find out how to relieve a situation that had been reported to us, to the United States Senate. And any reflection on this committee and why we came here, this Chairman will not stand for that.

Senator WATKINS. Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. The question was asked, Senator, and that was the reason why I answered a question that was directed to me.

Senator WATKINS. Mr. Chairman. The people of this Territory have known what has happened here. It has all been in public, except the executive sessions. The executive sessions are a matter of record as well. Nobody has been abused here. They have had their opportunity to come in. That is the only way in the world we can find facts on many of these matters, to get the real truth, by asking the people themselves who are involved.

Now we have been trying here for several days to find out about this Honolulu Record. We thought we had the people who are working for it. But they took the protection of the fifth amendment and wouldn't admit—they wouldn't testify at all about it. When they said they claimed the protection of the fifth amendment, that was the end of it. They weren't required to furnish any evidence on it.

But up to this moment, unless we go around and bring in dozens and dozens of people who have done business with it, it looks as though we can't find anybody who will give us the facts about the Honolulu Record. We thought we knew the facts but we can't get them from the people who should know them best of all.

And this country isn't going to allow its liberty to be taken away from it. This country isn't going down to destruction simply because we have some people who don't agree with it. We are acting on the rights the Constitution gives us to make this type of investigation. We're here under the Constitution too.

And attorneys only practice law as a privilege. It is not a constitutional right to practice law—none whatsoever, and it has so been held. States can regulate it, States can take away the license. That's well known and understood.

Now I want to be charitable to you. You have expressed very well your views. But at the same time, I can't agree with you. Some of the things you've said and the evasion with which you have opposed some of these questions to which you could have answered "Yes" or "No" very readily, make it appear that you wanted to evade.

Now, frankly, I don't agree with you. I would say that ordinarily some of the things that you've said are a terrible reflection on lawyers. Lawyers are not that way; lawyers obey the law. They can't be above the law. They can't keep treason hid, they can't keep murder hid, just because they're lawyers. They can't do that and do it legally and lawfully and ethically and morally—put them all in.

I just want to make that expression. I want to be charitable with you. I just think you misunderstand. I am not condemning you but I certainly can't let the impression go out that I agree with you on these matters. Some points you made very well, and you were probably right on some of these points, but not on all of them, and not on the main theme.

Lawyers don't have to be stool pigeons and all that sort of thing. That isn't the point. But the law requires people—and there is no exception in the law—when the facts come to them, to do certain things, just the same as any other citizen. And of course when the knowledge comes even before the attorney-client relationship comes into being that makes a difference. But you are taking the position that you don't have to do anything about it.

Well, that's all I have to say about it. I merely wanted to clear that up.

Senator JOHNSTON. Anything further?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have one order of business here I would like to put into the record because I promised counsel I would try to finish up so far as their clients are concerned this morning.

Mr. ANDERSEN. You're about an hour and a half overdue now.

Mr. MORRIS. Frank Marshall Davis was one of the witnesses subpoenaed. We have taken his testimony in executive session. I have taken this up with the chairman and he has agreed that he will be satisfied if we take the executive session testimony and put it into the public record.

Will you Senators agree to that?

Senator JOHNSTON. I approve of it.

Mr. MORRIS. I will make it available.

Senator JOHNSTON. No opposition. It will be made a part of the record.

(The testimony is as follows:)

Mr. SYMONDS. Senator Watkins and Mr. Morris, this is Frank Marshall Davis.

Senator WATKINS. What is your name?

Mr. DAVIS. Frank Marshall Davis.

Senator WATKINS. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give in the matter now pending before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DAVIS. I do.

Senator WATKINS. You may be seated.

## TESTIMONY OF FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter, Mr. Davis.

Mr. DAVIS. Frank Marshall Davis, 47-388 Kam Highway.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Davis, when did you come to Honolulu?

Mr. DAVIS. In 1948.

Mr. MORRIS. 1948. Where were you born?

Mr. DAVIS. Arkansas City, Kans.

Mr. MORRIS. What has been your education?

Mr. DAVIS. Let's see. Through high school and a year at Friends University.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is Friends University?

Mr. DAVIS. And at Kansas State College. That is at Manhattan, Kans.

Mr. MORRIS. You are a columnist, are you not, for the Honolulu Record?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WATKINS. Just a minute, Counsel. Did he ask you anything before you started to talk?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Yes; he did, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. I couldn't see his lips move.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. He had his back to me.

Senator WATKINS. I could see that side of his face.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I tell you, Senator, he did ask me.

Senator WATKINS. I have noticed the tendency, however, for counsel, not only in this hearing here but in the hearings on other days, before the witness could even open his mouth, to start to advise him. That amounts to what we call coaching the witness, and it is not permitted in this committee.

You see, the witnesses are not parties. They come in as any ordinary citizen would come in to testify in a matter in which the Senate is interested, as an ordinary witness would come in to testify in court. Such witnesses are not entitled to have counsel or register objections, and all of that sort of thing. They may come before the court to testify, as you know, with nobody there except the judge to advise them as to their rights as witnesses. Now, to have an attorney present to advise a witness, in this hearing, is a privilege that is granted. It is not a right.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I regard the fact that my client has the constitutional right to counsel——

Senator WATKINS. Oh, certainly, but not to be coached as to the testimony he shall give in the proceedings.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. He turned to me and asked me for my advice, and I gave it to him.

Senator WATKINS. I have been watching this very closely, ever since these hearings out here began, and obviously the witnesses have asked for advice in many instances, but obviously the witnesses never have had time to make their requests for legal advice before counsel has begun to give advice. I just warn you. That is all.

Mr. MORRIS. We have information, Mr. Davis—did you answer the last question or did you invoke the privilege of the——

Mr. DAVIS. No; I decline to answer that, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. We have information and evidence you were a member of the faculty of the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago. Is that information accurate, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS. I decline to answer that, also on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the Abraham Lincoln School was one of the Communist schools.

Are you a Communist now, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions at this time, Senator. I ask that you order the witness to stand by.

Senator WATKINS. Stand by. That means you will report to the open hearing room.

**[End of Davis testimony taken in executive session.]**

Mr. MORRIS. That concludes the testimony of Mr. Davis. One other thing, Senator, I would like to point out, because I think it should be abundantly clear from our record, that the last two witnesses who appeared here today were not subpoenaed because they represented anybody.

At the very outset these were the first people we subpoenaed, and we told them, these particular witnesses, that they were scheduled to be the first witnesses, and they asked that they testify last. They acknowledged that on the public record, and I would like for the record at this point to show that fact.

Senator JOHNSTON. Thank you. Any other questions?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. There are no questions. The witness will be excused at this particular time.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Thank you, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee will adjourn until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)



# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Honolulu, T. H.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 9:30 a. m., in the senate chamber, Iolani Palace, Senator Olin D. Johnston, presiding.

Present: Senators Johnston, Watkins, Welker, and Butler.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I would like to put into the record some developments that took place since the last meeting of the committee.

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. We had a witness who was under subpoena come in yesterday afternoon. Before coming in, he asked that we have our session not inside the palace, because he was in "fear of violence," to use his words.

He stated that he had been a Communist, that he had left the Communist Party, and that he was willing to answer all our questions, but he pleaded not to put him in public for his own sake and for the sake of his family. Now, that is his particular fear and I have no way of assessing that.

He did mention the names of many of the people who have appeared here in open session, he identified them for us as Communists; and he is standing by, willing to testify further in executive session. And we have asked him if he would cooperate with the Territorial commission, and he said he would. And that's where that one stands, Senator.

Now, then, last night I spoke with another person who had been a Communist, and this man was not under subpoena, but he was brought to the committee through other persons. And he stated that he had been a Communist, and discussed very, very candidly and frankly the details of his Communist participation. He estimated that prior to the Korean war, there were, in these islands, more than 150 Communists, to his knowledge. After the Korean war got under way, there was a diminution in the ranks of the Communists of about 20 percent; he said it varied between 10 and 20 percent and possibly more. In fact, at one point he said it went down below the figure of 100. And then, however, after the Korean war, he perceived again the trend started to go up again. And that was the limit of his direct knowledge. He thought that the most encouraging development, he told us, was

the development of a rightwing opposition to leadership within the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. He thought that was the most encouraging sign that had taken place.

He, too, will cooperate with the commission.

I think for the sake of the full record, I would like to put those facts into the record.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are at liberty to put those into the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, one thing I might add, that all of these four witnesses who now have cooperated with the subcommittee, have, at some time in the past, invoked privilege before some tribunal. I use the word "tribunal" very generally, Senator. Either senatorial committee, house committee, Territorial commission, or a court.

The witness this morning, Senator, is Mr. William B. Stephenson, chairman of the Territorial commission.

Senator JOHNSTON. Mr. Stephenson, come around.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, will you come forward?

Senator JOHNSTON. Raise your right hand and be sworn. You swear that the testimony you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I do.

Senator JOHNSTON. Be seated.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM B. STEPHENSON

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, please?

Mr. STEPHENSON. William B. Stephenson, 2978 Old Pali Road, Honolulu.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or occupation?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I am an attorney at law.

Mr. MORRIS. And do you hold a position with the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I am, at present, chairman, and a member of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activity.

Mr. MORRIS. What is that commission, Mr. Stephenson?

Mr. STEPHENSON. This commission was established by joint resolution of the special session of the legislature in 1949. That was the session that was necessitated by the waterfront strike we had in that year.

The commission is composed of 7 members, 4 of whom are from this island, 1 each from the counties of Kauai, Maui, and Hawaii.

Mr. MORRIS. Are these all unpaid commissioners, Mr. Stephenson?

Mr. STEPHENSON. They are unpaid.

Mr. MORRIS. Proceed.

Mr. STEPHENSON. It is a bipartisan commission. At the present time there are 3 Democrats, 3 Republicans, and 1 nonpartisan, members of this commission. The law specifically requires that at least three members, including the chairman, be attorneys.

The statutory mandate is that this commission shall investigate, analyze, make findings of fact, report to the legislature or, under certain instances, to the governor, concerning subversive activities in the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, you are also a judge, are you not, in the islands?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I am a district magistrate.

Mr. MORRIS. You are here pursuant to subpoena issued by the Internal Security Subcommittee?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And the Internal Security Subcommittee has also directed you to make available to it the records of the commission, is that right?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes. I was served with a subpoena a number of weeks ago, also a subpoena duces tecum to produce all of the records and files of the commission, and that has been done.

I would like the record to show that section 3 of the act under which we operate states that the records and files of the commission are confidential, with certain exceptions. In view of the fact that the commission itself, members of the commission, in an inquiry held by the Territorial house of representatives in 1955, refused, under claim of official privilege to divulge certain information, I sought the opinion of the attorney general of Hawaii as to what the position of any member or employee of the commission would be if subpoenaed before this subcommittee.

I am in possession of his opinion, which states that we are compellable to produce our records, and I think the basis is simply that no act of the Territorial legislature, which is itself a creature of Congress, can restrain the power of Congress to investigate.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, you are also a naval intelligence officer, are you not?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us what positions you have held with respect to the military here on these islands?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Prior to and during World War II, I performed various naval intelligence duties; I also served with the infantry, that is the XXIV Corps of the Army in the Leyte invasion, doing intelligence work; I also served with the Tenth Army in the Okinawa campaign, at which time I was in charge of psychological warfare for the United States forces in Okinawa.

Mr. MORRIS. And as such handled propaganda for the Tenth Army?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And then since the war you have maintained your associations with the naval intelligence establishment, have you not?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I have at times.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, I wonder if you could tell us about the strategic importance of these islands?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think that all you need do is look at a map of the Pacific. If you remove the Hawaiian Islands from the map, you have distances of incredible length, that is, between land masses. The distance from San Francisco to Guam, for example, would be roughly twice the distance from San Francisco to Honolulu. And going to the southwest, your next land mass, say New Guinea or New Zealand, is equally far removed. So that Hawaii is very conveniently located where it is, considering the needs of the country for a base here. And also, even in civilian communication, considering the present range of flight of aircraft. I think it is a matter of common knowledge that aircraft don't normally fly directly from San Francisco to Guam, and I think it would, under present technological developments, be econom-

ically infeasible to run an airline in that manner. We are strategically located in that very simple sense.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything more you can tell us about the strategic position of the islands with respect to the military?

Mr. STEPHENSON. In any advance operations in the Pacific, operations of either defensive or offensive nature, involving the Asian continent, obviously the more bases that we have between Asia and the United States, the more bases of large land mass, the better we are able to mount our operation, provide refueling, repair facilities for vessels, and so forth. It is rather elementary.

Mr. MORRIS. Are the Hawaiian Islands dependent upon oceanborne commerce?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Speaking of the civilian economy here?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I don't know the exact statistics but—

Senator JOHNSTON. Of course, if you would transfer the usefulness to the enemy, it would just give them the benefit of the islands, too, just like it is a benefit to us to have the use of them now. Isn't that true?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Oh, definitely, Senator. That would place a base of first-rate caliber for air and sea operations within very convenient range of the west coast.

Now, with regard to oceanborne commerce, I think it is fair to say that the general population of the Territory of Hawaii is largely dependent upon oceanborne commerce. I don't have the food consumption statistics, but I think that it is probable that we import more than half of our foodstuffs. In a protracted strike or any other blockade of this area, it would be entirely conceivable that the amount of food produced locally would go down. One reason being you can't import fertilizer, for example. When your existing stocks run out, you are obviously going to suffer a deleterious effect in your overall local production of edibles.

Now, as far as other commodities are concerned, probably we are dependent 99 percent on oceanborne commerce. I am thinking of building materials, clothes, and other tangibles of that type.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Stephenson, who controls the waterfront of the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Well, that depends, on the sense in which you use "control." As I see it, there are four possible groups who could exercise potential control in the sense of creating a blockade. Two groups in the shipping industry. That is, either the owners of ships could refuse to send ships in here, which to my knowledge has never happened, other than on a purely isolated basis when it wasn't convenient for them to call. Or the labor force on those ships could refuse to sail the ships from other ports, hence they would not reach here.

The other approach is at the Honolulu waterfront. Now, there are two groups there who potentially control the waterfront. I am speaking now of your stevedoring operations. Ships come in here and the crews from those ships do not unload the ships. Land based stevedores do. Now, if the stevedoring companies conceivably should act in concert to lock out their workers, denying a labor force to be present to unload these ships, then you could say that they control. As a practical matter, the only large measure of control that has ever been

exercised is, however, by the labor force itself, that labor force being almost completely organized within the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Now they are able to exercise control over the whole port of Hawaii, are they not? The port of Honolulu?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Not only the port of Honolulu but the ports on the other islands as well.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, this particular group can control the shipping to the islands?

Mr. STEPHENSON. They can't control the shipping, but they can control the non-loading and the non-unloading of the ships.

Mr. MORRIS. Has this control ever been demonstrated?

Mr. STEPHENSON. In 1949 it was.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us briefly about the 1949 strike?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Well, by perhaps an unhappy coincidence, the strike started on May 1. That happens to be known as International Working Class Day in Moscow. The strike started on May 1, 1949, and continued for nearly 6 months. The strike was of increasingly greater deleterious effect to the Territory. Stocks of foodstuff, for example, or clothing or building materials, that were here prior to May 1 of that year were used up. We had the problem of replacing them. I have made no effort to refresh my memory on all the details of that strike, but the community was up in arms, and this was all the result of the control exercised by a small group of men.

Now, you've had testimony here indicating that the strength of the membership of the ILWU in these islands is somewhere around 24,000 members.

I believe, at that time, the longshore group of the union had somewhere around 2,000—maybe only 1700. It was only the longshoremen who went out on strike. It wasn't necessary to strike the sugar or pineapple industries because, in my analysis, the Hawaiian Islands may be visualized as a human body would, and you don't have to kill the whole body in order to kill the victim. You can throttle him at the throat. And the throat of the Hawaiian Islands, from the standpoint of dependency upon the material things of life, is the Honolulu waterfront and to a lesser degree the outer island waterfronts. Theoretically you might supply these islands by air, but if you gentlemen will recall the Berlin airlift of 1948, that placed a tremendous strain on the military and civilian air transport facilities of the United States, and they were flying a relatively short distance—not 2,200 miles.

So under the present, using the present type of aircraft that we have in the world, you cannot feasibly, economically, ever supply these islands solely by air.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, the fact that the pineapple and sugar plantation workers did not go on strike actually aided the strikers, did it not?

Mr. STEPHENSON. It certainly did.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us how?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I say in round figures 2,000 longshoremen were out on strike. That leaves, say, 22,000 workers who were not on strike. They were still employed in sugar and pineapple. They were being paid wages, they were subject to strike assessments for the benefit of the waterfront strikers. They did pay strike assessments. They

helped their fellow union members who were on strike on the waterfront.

Mr. MORRIS. And yet the waterfront people were able to completely paralyze the islands?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I think, Mr. Stephenson, you told us in executive session, you showed us a paper which related the desperation of the people of Hawaii at the time. I wonder if you would mention that in the record at this time?

Mr. STEPHENSON. There was published locally an insert to the Honolulu Advertiser, as I recall at the time it was meant to make—to put in easy mailable form—something about the strike that people here could mail—well, it says, “Pass this along to friends and congressmen.” And large quantities of these did go forward in the mails.

Mr. MORRIS. And that paper described the plight of the people of Hawaii at the time?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes. It gives a thumbnail sketch of the situation. Food rotting on ships in port. United States citizens hostages in ILWU strike. National safety is imperiled. And so forth.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Stephenson, based on your observation at the time and your general knowledge of this Communist international organization, was there any connection between this particular strike and the worldwide Communist movement?

Mr. STEPHENSON. It appeared to me at that time, and has ever since, that there was more—that it was more than coincidental that while the Hawaii dock strike was in progress you had similar dock strikes around the world. And just to show you, using 1 personality or 2 personalities, how these things tie together. There was a dock strike in Liverpool, England, and Harry Bridges was at large on bail and under the usual conditions that he could not leave the Federal district without permission of the court. He sought permission to go to Marseilles, France, to preside over the—it was the maritime section of the World Federation of Trade Unions; it might have been called the Maritime Federation of the World. Anyhow, it is the maritime section of the World Communist Front in the trade union field. Bridges was denied the right to leave the United States, so he sent as his deputy Louis Boris Goldblatt.

Press reports, which were given great prominence here, indicated that, when Goldblatt was through with his business at Marseilles, he went up to England for the purpose of inspecting the Liverpool strike. I don't know what his capacity as inspector might be, but at least that was his announced purpose, as reported by world press services. And further, according to press reports, he was met at Croydon Airport by British security authorities who put him on the next plane and sent him back to France. The British Government released an official statement to the effect that he was being summarily deported because he was an International Communist agent.

Mr. MORRIS. That is Mr. Goldblatt who is the secretary-treasurer, International secretary-treasurer of the ILWU?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's correct. It is a little object lesson, by the way, to some of our friends who say in handling the Communist situation: “Why can't we be democratic like the British are?” I have never seen any move to summarily throw Mr. Goldblatt off this island, like the British did off the British Isles.

Senator WATKINS. May I also point out that the British are doing away with this so-called protection that we have under the fifth amendment. They are taking the position that the welfare of the country is more important than some of the liberties granted to the citizens. That if the Commonwealth is to continue to exist, it must take means to protect itself. And where they do not have a written constitution, Parliament is able to do that sort of thing. And they are actually, in practice now, not granting the privilege of not testifying if the testimony might incriminate the witness. And that's being done without putting it up to the people as a whole for a vote or anything of that sort. They do not have a written constitution, as you know, so Parliament is practically in full and complete control of the country.

Senator BUTLER. Senator, that is, as a matter of fact, the British system, isn't it?

Senator WATKINS. What is that?

Senator BUTLER. That is the British system. When Parliament speaks, that's it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, you have encountered the influence and the connections with the WFTU before, have you not? That is the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. STEPHENSON. Well, I have made a casual study of it. The materials available in our isolated community aren't too numerous. But I do recall that, I believe, it was formed in 1945, and the glow of peace that followed the conclusion of World War II, and that a number of American labor associations, at least the CIO if not the A. F. of L., did affiliate with it.

Mr. MORRIS. That was only temporarily, for the time being, wasn't it?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes. I believe in 1948, when the CIO found it was not a legitimate international confederation of trade unions, but was an instrument of Russian foreign policy, an instrument meant to penetrate the labor organizations of the world, the CIO got out. And I do recall an excellent article that appeared in the Saturday Evening Post, by James B. Carey, and I think that Mr. Carey is every bit as good and probably better than any labor leader in the ILWU, and I think he is every bit as anti-Communist as any member of the subcommittee or myself, and he lays it right on the line about this World Federation of Trade Unions.

And I understand, and this is just based on recollection, there was a disaffiliation of some type. Well, now, I should go back a minute. The ILWU fought and opposed the move in the CIO to disaffiliate and announced that if the CIO disaffiliated, the ILWU as a constituent part of the CIO would nevertheless affiliate itself, and it was affiliated. And I believe in 1950 or 1951 the ILWU purported to disaffiliate from this world organization. But I thought it passing strange that only recently, I believe 1954, one issue contained a leading article—

Mr. MORRIS. One issue of what paper?

Mr. STEPHENSON. One issue of the publication the World Federation of Trade Unions. It contains a leading article by J. V. Stalin, addressed in the form of a letter to the workers of Japan. I wasn't under the impression that he was considered a qualified labor leader among the nations of the world.

In another issue, I believe 1954, there was an article over the byline of Jack W. Hall. That brings up an interesting point. Even the edi-

tor of this world magazine thought it necessary to explain by a footnote: "The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, the title itself doesn't mean what it says so far as organization is concerned." Now, normally, on the mainland, as we call it, if you have a hod carriers union, well that union limits itself to organizing hod carriers. And the same with typographical workers, carpenters, plumbers, and so forth.

In Hawaii we have the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. They started out organizing the longshoremen. I am not informed on whether warehousemen are organized or not. Possibly they are. But as I said earlier, and you have had other testimony, the great bulk of the membership is among agricultural workers.

I think that is a little bit atypical. It shows a growth of this union, not primarily in the field in which it was set up to operate, but, in this particular area, a growth calculated to get control of as large a percentage of the labor force of the Territory of Hawaii as possible.

Now, they have organized a bakery here; they have organized workers in the shops of automobile dealers. I mean if they called themselves the General Confederation of Labor, or something like that, out here, there might be some sense to it, but that was a little bit atypical, and as I say, the editor of this worldwide Communist labor publication though it necessary to put in a footnote to explain that this union did organize workers other than those named in the title.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, before getting off the subject completely, I would like to mention that you prepared an intelligence paper, did you not, or a summary, Mr. Stephenson, on the interconnection of the 1949 strike with Communist strikes throughout the world?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Unfortunately, this is the sole copy I have left, I wouldn't call it an intelligence paper, it was sent to a few friends and to a couple of Members of Congress. I just put together in very hasty fashion, a few of the facts bearing on the subject, events in the world, during 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have read this paper and it is the only thing we have had in the present series of hearings that would seem to, or would lend any kind of support whatever, to identification of the 1949 strike as a political strike. Now, we are going to get into the realm of political strikes next, but for whatever probative value it has, I suggest, Senator, that this four-page paper be read into the record at this time. It is certainly interesting and I think it would be of value to the committee.

Senator JOHNSTON. It shall be so ordered, that it become a part of the record.

Senator WATKINS. May the witness read it?

Senator JOHNSTON. Yes.

Senator WATKINS. Read that.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I might say, Mr. Chairman, that, in looking around the other day and trying to find a copy of this, I have what I think is only a partial copy, it covers most of the points.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read it?

Mr. STEPHENSON. This was written by me sometime during the summer of 1949.

A few months before the end of World War II, the World Federation of Trade Unions was formed. This was ostensibly to be an international federation of trade unions and industrial unions. The CIO affiliated with the WFTU but the A. F. of L. did not.

Then I allude to James Carey's article.

As Carey points out in his article, it soon became apparent that, as with certain prewar international labor organizations, the Russians were bent upon using the WFTU as an instrument of Russian power and penetration abroad. The democratic countries represented in the WFTU found themselves unable to stamp out the practices to which the WFTU was being put by the Russians, so the affiliated unions from the democratic countries withdrew. As of the present time, the WFTU continues in existence as a completely Soviet-dominated international front.

Whereas the statement of purposes of the WFTU are intended to lead one to believe that it is interested in bettering the lot of the working class in all countries, in various trades and industries and on various levels, it has become apparent that the WFTU is concentrating its efforts on controlling the waterfronts of the world. It is not attempting to control all maritime unions but primarily to capture the unions of dockworkers. The obvious purpose of this strategy lies in the fact that he who controls the waterfronts of the world largely controls the ocean commerce of the world. In addition to the fact that many seamen's unions will not sail their ships from behind striking dockworkers' picket lines, there is the critical fact that cargo vessels which cannot be loaded or unloaded are of no value in ocean commerce.

In the execution of their strategy, aimed at controlling all docks, the WFTU Communist leaders have noted that one big loophole still exists, which will not be closed by dock strikes. That loophole is the commerce in liquid petroleum products. The great bulk of oil and gas carried in world commerce is laden in tankers. Tankers being loaded or unloaded by gravity flow or by pumping can move their cargoes across the docks without stevedores. The existence of this serious loophole has led Russian strategists to cause to be set up another labor front, the World Federation of Petroleum Workers.

In the United States, the WFTU has the strong open support of Harry Bridges, president of the Communist-led ILWU, a CIO affiliate. When, at the last CIO national convention, it was moved to disaffiliate the CIO from the WFTU, Bridges and other national Communist labor leaders opposed the motion. Since that time Bridges has openly proclaimed that he and the ILWU will continue to support the WFTU and he will affiliate his union with the WFTU if necessary. It appears probable that, at the scheduled October 1949 CIO national convention, Bridges will lead a movement to reaffiliate the CIO with the WFTU, that he will be beaten in this attempt, and that the ILWU will be expelled from membership in the CIO. Whether the ILWU thereafter officially affiliates with the WFTU is of small importance because Bridges will continue to cooperate with any and all Communist labor organizations and fronts, domestic, foreign, and international.

It is a reasonable assumption that Bridges was one of the international Communists who suggested the formation of the WFTU. In any event, he has done excellent work for it since 1945 and even before its formation.<sup>1</sup> It will be recalled that Bridges personally went to Mexico, Cuba, and other Caribbean countries during World War II. He stated that his purpose in visiting these countries and conferring with labor leaders there was to effect a united front of sugar workers and longshore workers. He let it be known that a dock strike in Havana, to be successful, had to have the support of longshoremen in the United States. It is significant that in Mexico his chief confrere was Vincente Lombardo Coledano, the leading Communist in that country. And in Cuba he is believed to have dealt with Jesus Menendes, a leading Communist there.

Note: Menendes was later murdered.

When Paul Robeson sang in Honolulu under ILWU auspices in 1947, part of the proceeds of the concert were sent to Menendes' family in Cuba.

Bridges was the logical man to have been commissioned by the WFTU, and possibly by even higher authority, to lead the entire movement in the Pacific. In connection with this assumption, the following news events are pertinent.

(1) The existing dock strike in Hawaii, which began on May 1, 1949, bears all the marks of being Communist-controlled for Communist purposes.

Note: This subject has been widely written about already so will not be elaborated upon here.

(2) In connection with the action of Hawaiian longshoremen in rejecting the recommendations of the Governor's fact-finding board, statements of an ominous nature have been attributed to Bridges and his chief tactician in Hawaii—Henry

<sup>1</sup> Additional material on the WFTU appears at the end of today's hearing.

Schmidt—anticipating a greatly enraged public opinion against the strikers, the ILWU leaders have threatened a general Pacific Coast maritime tieup if any strike breaking activities or any violence are directed against the longshoremen in Hawaii.

(3) Notwithstanding the fact that the ILWU's senior representative in Hawaii—Jack Hall, regional director—would be needed here at all times during the longshore strike, an announcement was made several weeks after the strike began that Hall would fly to Manila. The stated purpose of his intended trip was to strike one ship there, that vessel having by-passed Honolulu, a scheduled stop-over for it, because of the strike existing here.

About the same time another news story appeared in the Honolulu papers, announcing that Harry Bridges and Paul Robeson were scheduled to fly to Manila in June, for an unstated purpose, and that Henry Wallace had been invited to accompany them but that his answer had not yet been received. The same article mentioned that Jack Hall would already be in Manila.

Parenthetically I put:

Two comments are in order. First, if Jack Hall's presence in a foreign port could effect the striking of a vessel there, presumably he has an organization already established there, and if such an organization exists, it would seem reasonable that it could strike a single ship without Hall's presence.

Second. The appearance of such a group of Americans in a foreign country, in which place they can have no legal political objective, must be given a sinister interpretation.

I might say for the record that to the best of my recollection, Mr. Henry A. Wallace decided not to go and this visit of Paul Robeson, Bridges, Hall out to Manila at that time did not materialize.

(4) Current Communist uprisings and agitation in Japan and South Korea, coincident with the withdrawal of American troops from Korea, and the long delay in repatriation of Japanese prisoners of war from Russian camps is a significant development in the Orient, although not directly in the field of Communist labor.

(5) The overrunning of Eastern, that is Coastal, China, by the Communist Armies has led to the capture of many important ports and will lead to the capture of more.

No Communist-directed strike of the Hawaii type can be anticipated in Chinese ports so captured.

On June 25, 1949, 23,000 Communist-led miners of Australia ceased work in an illegal strike. A leading Australian radio commentator stated in Honolulu, on June 7, 1949, that this strike had caused 200,000 people in Sydney to become unemployed. As a countermeasure, the Australian Government has frozen all funds of striking unions and has forbidden any contributions to be made to the strikers.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, the Australian strike was contemporaneous with the Hawaiian strike?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes. Then, as a significant development of the Australian strike, the dock workers went out on strike because the coal miners were out and their funds were being tied up by the government, and therefore this led to other strikes, such as in India, Singapore. I have already mentioned earlier the Liverpool strike.

As I say, this is an incomplete copy, but the overall picture at that time was that, while the Hawaiian strike was in progress, you had Communist-led strikes at other major port areas of the world. Some of them, certainly the Hawaiian strike, were ostensibly premised on economic basis.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, proceeding from there, there have been some patently political strikes here on the islands, have there not?

Mr. STEPHENSON. In my opinion, yes. Perhaps I should state—

Mr. MORRIS. Is there any room for opinion. Aren't these patent? Haven't there been some strikes patently political?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think it is a matter of definition. I think that, in the Marxist sense, they are political; I think in the American trade union sense they're political, in that they're not directed against the employer or do not state a grievance against him. And I can give you four examples of that.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you do that?

Mr. STEPHENSON. In 1950, after Harry Bridges was convicted in San Francisco and was released on bail, his bail was revoked and he was remanded to custody for certain words or actions with respect to the Korean war. I don't have the details before me. As a result of that, there were fairly widespread walkouts of sugar workers in the Hawaiian Islands.

Now, I don't know what the relations of these workers on these particular plantations were with their employers, but I'm pretty sure that the employers of Hawaii had nothing to do with Judge George Harris' revocation of that bail up there, nor did the employers here put in Harry Bridges' mouth the words he uttered in opposition to the American participation in the Korean war effort.

That's what I mean by political strikes. They strike their employer to show their displeasure with the Government. It is a strike against the Government in the broad sense of the term, in the propaganda sense.

I have for the record, if you desire it, contemporaneous news, some contemporaneous news clippings on that strike.

In 1953, Jack W. Hall after, I believe, a trial of about seven months, in our Federal court, was convicted of conspiracy, the conspiracy section of the Smith Act. That caused widespread strikes. Now, of course, the Communist propagandist in Hawaii will give any reason. Just like the old saying, when you don't want to do something, any reason is as good as any other reason. And the same is true of the positive. So again they start beating the old Communist drums that the employers of Hall caused Jack Hall to get indicted and caused him to get convicted.

Well, that is a bunch of hogwash. In fact, I will go along with Senator Dillingham yesterday. The employers of Hawaii haven't shown enough gumption to want to get any of these Communist union leaders indicted for anything. In fact, I think they're rather embarrassed by it sometimes.

Senator WATKINS. You mean embarrassed by the fact that they might be indicted?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I mean a lot of them consider that some of these leaders are nice fellows, we have got to get along with them, we feel that we should, and it just muddies up the waters of labor-management relations if the Government is after those fellows.

Senator WATKINS. In other words, they don't want to know too much about them when their backs are turned?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think that's correct.

Senator JOHNSTON. So it is nothing new for the union to practice what they did when we came here. To call a halt of the workers and just walk out, just because we were coming here to have a hearing.

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's not new, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. And so, whenever Bridges was tried, they quit the job there, and 4,000 of the plantation workers, I believe, quit their jobs at that time and walked out in protest of Bridges being jailed. Is that true?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's correct. Now, this 1953 walkout was more extensive than the one in 1950. I have a number of news clippings here, one of which reports that at the peak of this 1953 political strike, 90 percent of the Territory's 18,000 sugar workers, all 1,700 longshoremen, and half of the pineapple workers were on strike.

Now there was one little immediate effect of interest. The Navy at that time was using civilian stevedores, as was the Army. The Army port is in Honolulu Harbor; the Navy port, of course, is Pearl Harbor. And so when these fellows struck, that deprived the Army and Navy of the use of this labor force.

Here's an item, part of this article :

The dock areas were hardest hit. Longshoremen stayed off the job at Pearl Harbor for 3 days. The longest shutdown of civilian stevedoring operations ever called at the naval base. Sailors passing cargo from man to man by hand worked two Korea-bound transports at Pearl Harbor yesterday and were to continue working the ships until the job is finished.

Now, that, I consider, a political strike. And a strike against the Government by indirection.

Now, we don't want to be confused by the denials put out by the leaders, and I mean the Communist leaders of the ILWU, because they are usually the spokesmen on these matters. When something of a political nature comes up, they usually take the position that this was a spontaneous walkout. I think a simple analysis of that shows that is bad propaganda. If it is spontaneous, if we take the propaganda at its face value, then it shows a conditioning of these workers far beyond what the community has ever suspected. If these workers——

Senator WATKINS. What do you mean by "conditioning"?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I mean a conditioning of their minds to react in a conditioned manner upon the happening of a certain event.

Senator WATKINS. They deliberately train them to react that way in the event such a happening occurs?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes. I don't think that is the general feeling in this community. I don't think myself that that is the situation. But for them, for these Communist propagandists to take that position, they are in effect saying that "Our workers are so well conditioned that when an issue arises in this community affecting a Communist leader or the Communist issue or the Government's attempts to investigate and expose Communists, that our men are instinctively going to go on strike."

Senator WATKINS. You don't think for a moment, then, that the so-called strikes we've had since this committee came over here have been spontaneous movements?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I do not. As a matter of fact, Senator, I received information, which I was not able to evaluate at the time, the day before Harry Bridges arrived in Honolulu, he arrived here, I believe, on Friday the 9th of November, this year; I received a telephone call on the 8th, I was not able to evaluate the information, but I was told that Mr. Bridges had made a statement previously, in the previous week, to the effect that while your committee was here no ILWU labor was going to be performed in the Territory. I couldn't evaluate that. As I said, I had to wait and see. Two nights later, after his arrival here, he got up and laid down the line.

Senator WATKINS. I don't know how it affected the citizens here, but I know how it affected me when I received the word. I read in the paper that they were going to strike if we came out, and I resolved I was going to come at all costs. I had planned not to come, because I felt there were other members going, enough to take care of the situation. That's the effect it had on me. To announce that they were going on strike simply because the United States Senate was going to exercise its powers and do the duty that has been required of it by an act of Congress.

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's exactly what I mean by a political strike, Senator. And every one of these political strikes I speak of revolves strictly around the Communist issue.

Senator WATKINS. And it wasn't because of my opinion that there was an investigation of a labor union, but the investigation of a man who probably was directing a labor union and who, we were informed was a Communist and was directing a union in the interest, not of the union itself but of a Communist movement throughout the world. That was the impression I got from what preliminary investigation disclosed.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think we should also commend those workers that refused to walk out too. Some of them had guts enough to realize that they were bucking the Government when they were doing it, and didn't walk out. Isn't that true, too?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes, sir. My information is that there were some units that were not even put to a vote on the issue because they would vote it down.

Senator WATKINS. I join with the chairman in the statement he just made with respect to that.

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes, I think that the reaction——

Senator JOHNSTON. I think when any union gets so large to raise a strike for no other purpose than to condemn the court, a court action, or strike for no other purpose than to keep people from gathering information, it is a serious matter. We didn't come here biased, one way or the other. I know I didn't. And when we were coming here to try to find information about the islands, and then to strike on that account, I just can't understand it.

Senator WATKINS. I think also it ought to be made clear that the so-called justifications they had was that they didn't like some members of the committee, and specifically the chairman, that they were not striking against the Government, they were just striking against him personally. Now the fact is, of course, that whether they like us or not, we are in these official positions, we are United States Senators carrying out an official mission. It doesn't make any difference what we believe personally, any more than it would if we were in the position of a sheriff an went out to make an arrest, to have the prisoner object and say "I don't like you, you stand for certain things, and you can't arrest me;" in other words, think about the personality rather than the official position the man has.

We are clothed with the authority of the United States Senate under the Constitution, and congressional acts putting into effect or implementing the Constitution. And so long as we hold those positions, the strike is against the Government and not against us personally. It can't be against us, because we are not operating and using personal functions but official functions.

I want to make that clear so that people will not be confused with respect to a matter of that kind, or be misled by a charge, as one of the witnesses said yesterday: "This committee as constituted." In other words, we are an official committee, no matter how we are constituted, no matter who makes it up, we still have that authority, and we're exercising that authority. I wanted to make that observation at this point, and I think it is appropriate.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, you have mentioned that you thought the political strike, centering on the conviction of Jack Hall, was a rather severe one; at least it was stronger than the walkout on Harry Bridges being remanded. Had you finished that point?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes. I mean the fact that they wouldn't load a couple of Navy ships bound for Korea. I know if we had a naval stevedore working for us at Pearl Harbor, at that date and under those circumstances, and they walked off because they didn't like something that the Federal court in Honolulu or the admiral did, or something else, there are some fairly strong words you could use in characterizing the offense that they would be guilty of.

And I made the point that the Communist leaders try to create the position that these things are spontaneous at times. And it is significant that, in an item with respect to the 1953 strike, where the union chiefs disavow any blame for the walkout, the same item reports that, immediately after his conviction, Hall announced an indefinite suspension of contract negotiations with Hawaii's longshoring industry. Now, I don't know what that was meant to represent, but he walked out on them then.

And that brings us down to another branch of government that has been demonstrated against, touched on briefly yesterday. "ILWU breaks off negotiations until Mitchell leaves the islands." The Mitchell referred to was the Secretary of Labor, a member of the President's Cabinet and the President's emissary when he was out here. And Mr. Bridges and his group said, in effect, "Get out of town, Mr. Mitchell. We are not going to carry on any bargaining while you're here. We don't like what you said about us." They didn't deny what he said, that the union was led by subversives. They didn't accord to him his right of free speech. After all, he's accountable under the laws of libel if his statement is untrue. He has no privilege.

Well, what does all this add up to? It adds up to a continuous course of conduct in which these Communist leaders of this union are counseling resistance to the Government. They resist against a Federal judge in San Francisco revoking Bridges' bail, a Federal court and jury in Honolulu, a member of the President's Cabinet, and now a committee of the United States Senate. They profess to see nothing wrong about it and they justify it as being something that is cast within the mold of the good old American way of life.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, at this point may I offer for the record the clipping which has been referred to during this part of the testimony, the Honolulu Advertiser, where 540,000 Americans, blockaded Americans, are appealing for assistance, the protest walkout over the jailing of Harry Bridges, also, the paper referred to by the witness in connection with the Jack Hall conviction, and the last article referred to, in which there was a protest over the arrival in the islands of Secretary of Labor Mitchell.

Senator JOHNSTON. All these news clippings and statements shall be included in the record and become a part of the record.

(The clippings were marked "Exhibits No. 400, 400-A, 400-B, and 400-C" and read as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 400-A

[Honolulu Star-Bulletin, August 8, 1950, p. 1]

#### FOUR THOUSAND PLANTATION WORKERS QUIT JOBS

##### PROTEST JAILING OF BRIDGES

HILO, HAWAII, August 7 (by radio).—An estimated 4,000 sugar workers on 10 big island plantations refused to work today in protest against the jailing of ILWU President Harry Bridges.

A sugar industry spokesman said only about 520 employees are on their jobs today at the affected plantations.

Three plantations—at Kohala, Laupahoehoe and Hakalau—reported normal operations.

These other developments came quickly this morning in the wake of the week-end jailing of Bridges in San Francisco.

##### MESSAGES TO TRUMAN

1. Three out of four Hawaiian locals of the ILWU sent protest messages to President Truman. They urged that he be released on "reasonable bail" and given a new trial.

2. In Honolulu ILWU Regional Director Jack W. Hall supported the walkout of the big island sugar workers. "You can't blame them," he commented.

##### ALL BUT THREE BIG ISLAND PLANTATIONS AFFECTED

The big island's cane fields were practically deserted today.

The seemingly well-planned work stoppage, which some union officer described as rank-and-file support of their union chief, occurred simultaneously at all but 3 of the island's 13 plantations.

Members of the longshore and miscellaneous locals have not followed suit.

Operations were reported normal at Kohala Sugar Co., Laupahoehoe Sugar Co. and Hakalau Plantation Co. Most of the workers at Honokaa Sugar Co. are on vacation so curtailed operations were not affected by a turnout of only 15 of the 65 workers supposed to be on their jobs.

Indications are that the islandwide work stoppage will last for 24 hours.

##### OLAA STOPPAGE

At Olaa Sugar Co., only about 224 of the work force of 1,100 reported to work.

The ILWU sugar local office there was the central unit for the planning of the protest action.

Representatives from most of the island's plantation met there last week to map their plan.

An Olaa unit officer was reached this morning but he refused to give the reason for the islandwide action or disclose if the stoppage would continue tomorrow.

No demonstration was reported this morning despite rumors last week to the effect the sugar workers would express their protest in that manner.

##### COMMENT REFUSED

George Martin, sugar local division vice president at Hilo headquarters, said he would not comment on the matter "until I get all the facts."

Plantation officials denounced the work stoppages as being inspired and enforced on the membership by a few leftist union officers.

One spokesman declared the act "a strike against the Government."

James S. Beatty, manager of Hutchinson Sugar Plantation Co., Naalehu, branded the stopwork meetings as illegal.

When the workers failed to show up for the 6 a. m. shift at the Pahala plantation, supervisors pitched in to keep the mill running.

ILWU members at the two Kau companies held a joint meeting at the Pahala gymnasium to hear union speakers. The crowd was orderly.

## OTHER MASS MEETINGS

Other mass meetings were reported to be in progress at Hilo Sugar Plantation Co. and at the Olaa union office.

In addition to Olaa's sprawling plantation in Puna, other companies affected are Paaauhau Sugar Co., Hamakua Mill Co., Kaiwika Sugar Co., Pepeekeo Sugar Co., Onomea Sugar Co., Hilo Sugar Plantation Co., Hawaiian Agricultural Co. and Hutchinson Sugar Plantation Co.

William Silva, president of the unit at Pahala, said the stopwork meeting would last for 24 hours.

The work stoppage was confined to the sugar plantations.

Officials of Hilo Transportation and Terminal Co. reported their clerks and motor pool workers were on the job. As no ships are in port no stevedore crews were on call.

## EXHIBIT No. 400-B

[Honolulu Advertiser, p. 1, February 14, 1956]

## HALL OFFERS TO QUIT LABOR TALKS AFTER MITCHELL BLAST

## THIRD OFFICIAL CONDEMNS ILWU CHIEF

(By Jack Burby)

Jack Hall last night offered to pull out of negotiations in sugar and pineapple after the ILWU's leadership was denounced by a Government official as "subversive" for the third time in a week.

The latest charge came from Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell as he paused between planes in San Francisco en route to Honolulu.

Mr. Mitchell told a San Francisco Chronicle reporter that he considers the leadership of the ILWU "subversive." The rank-and-file members, he said, are "ordinary trade-unionists."

But he said the leadership, specifically Jack Hall, cannot be so cataloged.

Hall, who was convicted 2 years ago by a Federal jury as a Communist conspirator, said in Honolulu, Mr. Mitchell's remark was part of an effort to make him a "whipping boy."

He said it would be "criminal for me to permit my own legal status" to interfere with negotiations.

And he said: "To satisfy the cravings of those who have no confidence in the democracy, intelligence, or maturity of our working people, I announce my willingness now to withdraw from negotiations in both pineapple and sugar if the employers in either of those industries will say that my presence is a hindrance to a settlement and if the elected committees from the workers on the job agree with them."

At the same time, an ILWU spokesman in San Francisco said Mr. Mitchell spoke from a briefing on the island labor situation prepared in the Honolulu office of Governor King.

Mr. Mitchell was scheduled to arrive in Honolulu at 5:30 a. m. today aboard a Pan American clipper.

He was the third Government official to blast the ILWU's leadership in the past week.

The first was Representative Francis Walter, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

He said last week as he passed through Hawaii that he was "shocked and nauseated" to find a convicted Communist bargaining for American workers.

He said he intended to press for a finding by the Attorney General that the ILWU is "subversive."

On Saturday night, Governor King said during an address in Honolulu: "I cannot believe that we can condone the infiltration of identified Communists into our labor organizations as a matter of no concern of ours.

"I cannot help but feel that our duties as citizens, and our loyalty to our country, require a more active attitude toward this situation."

The governor did not mention the ILWU or any of its leaders by name.

Mr. Mitchell told The Chronicle last night that he agrees with Rep. Walter "in substance," although he does not classify the rank and file as subversive.

He recalled that the CIO ousted the ILWU in 1949 as a "Communist-dominated" union.

Until last night, there had been no reply to the charges from Mr. Hall, who is appealing a conviction that he conspired, as a Communist leader, to violate the Smith Act. The act forbids advocating the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

The union leader's reply:

"This statement is being made without consultation with either our local negotiating committees or the International officers whom I represent in Hawaii.

"I will not permit the Hawaiian employers or their political allies like Secretary Mitchell to use me as a whipping boy to escape their basic obligations and responsibilities to the workers of Hawaii.

"I believe that I represent and speak for the aspirations and determinations of the vast majority of the working people in Hawaii.

"If that is so, it would be criminal for me to permit my own legal status, which is yet to be fully determined, to impede or interfere with the aspirations or determinations of Hawaii's workers for a better life.

"I do not think that I do so.

"However, to satisfy the cravings of those who have no confidence in the democracy, intelligence or maturity of our working people, I announce my willingness now to withdraw from negotiations in both pineapple and sugar if employers in either of those industries will say that my presence is a hindrance to a settlement and if the elected committees from the workers on the job agree with them.

"My own role is and has been a relatively minor one. What happens to me as an individual is of small import. What happens to the welfare of the workers as a whole is far more important.

"I advise the members of our union not to rely on any other officer or individual in this union but to rely solely on their own understanding of the issues involved and their own strength and determination to reach a fair settlement.

"Governor King, Secretary Mitchell and the rest of the big-money gang will play no role in the settlement of Hawaii's labor problems."

Earlier, Mr. Hall had said the union "hasn't given up hope" for a peaceful settlement in Hawaii's sugar negotiations.

But he said it would take more than the 26 plantations had offered to date in wages, hours, insurance and separation pay to head off a strike in the \$145,000,000 industry.

The industry has said already that it has very little bargaining room left on a three-year contract, none at all for a contract that would run for only one year.

Things looked less grim in Hawaii's pineapple industry.

Negotiators for seven companies and the ILWU seem to have found the road to new contracts in that industry to cover 8,000 workers.

Indications were another on-the-record meeting will be held today to discuss the last blocks to agreement—pensions and wages.

The companies and the union have a good idea of where they stand. Top spokesmen for each side have been meeting now and then off-the-record for more than a week.

They are reported on the verge of a settlement.

Sugar was another story.

Backed up by a 31-1 strike vote among 14,000 union members on four islands, ILWU negotiators are expected to ask for more negotiations sometime this week.

When talks recessed a week ago today, the ILWU said it would "take a last look" at the situation, try for a few days to reach agreement, then set a strike date.

Hall, the union's chief spokesman, said last night the union committee will bargain "until it is convinced there is no way out but a strike."

He charged that there has been "no bargaining" in the five weeks since sugar negotiations began.

The industry, he said, has completely rejected the union's demands and has "made no attempt at compromise."

The 26 plantations have taken the stand during this year's negotiations that they will take a strike before they will sign a contract which could cost them more than they can afford.

With sugar costs going down, production costs going up and competition on the mainland increasing, the industry says it has limited resources for additional labor costs.

## EXHIBIT No. 400-C

[Honolulu Star-Bulletin, June 22, 1953]

## ILWU PROTESTS IDLE THREE MAJOR INDUSTRIES

Hawaii's waterfront activity ground to a dead halt today as an ILWU work stoppage spread throughout the longshore, sugar and pineapple industries.

Union men began walking off their jobs and staying away from work Friday to demonstrate their disapproval of the conviction that day of Jack W. Hall, ILWU regional director, on charges of Communist conspiracy.

Conservative estimates placed the number of men away from work at more than 10,000 although the figure was expected to be increased when the final count is made.

ILWU spokesmen continued their hands-off policy, insisting the demonstration was spontaneous among the individual members.

## MAY RETURN TOMORROW

Officials of some companies, however, said they have been informed unofficially that work will be resumed as usual tomorrow.

The walkouts already are much heavier than those of August 1950, that followed the jailing of Harry Bridges, ILWU international president, in connection with his conviction on perjury charges.

At that time, in walkouts spread over a week, and confined to the sugar industry, about 8,100 of the 20,000 Hawaii sugar workers left their jobs in protest strikes.

There were no pineapple walkouts then and longshore was normal except for one stop-work meeting.

## NAVY LOADS OWN SHIPS

Today, ships in all island ports were idled when stevedore gangs failed to answer calls to work.

Two Navy transports carrying cargo to Korea were loaded by the Navy when ILWU gangs failed to report to Pearl Harbor. An Army ship was similarly affected.

Sugar and pineapple were also hard hit, with undetermined thousands joining the demonstration.

Meanwhile, the executive board of the union's Oahu sugar division issued a statement today blaming the employers for Hall's conviction.

Renewing its accusation that "the bosses and big shots \* \* \* conspired with corrupt politicians" to indict the labor leader, the union commented:

"The bosses made a big mistake. It's going to cost them money."

## SEEN AS OFFICIAL VIEW

The statement was issued through the ILWU's regional office, giving rise to the conclusion that it constituted the official view of the entire union.

The ILWU announced Saturday that its longshoremen have voted to raise their wage demands from 11 to 22 cents, but Robert McElrath, union public relations director, denied that the move was connected with the wrathful protest over Hall's conviction.

An unofficial tally of the best available reports showed at least 7,700 men off their jobs in sugar, 2,110 absent in pineapple and 438 in stevedoring.

Only 190 men of a field force numbering 1,200 reported for work today on Libby, McNeill & Libby's Oahu, Maui, and Molokai plantations. Libby and California Packing Corp. said only 10 percent of their employees on Molokai showed up this morning.

## MEN "FELT HURT"

Regino Colotario, an ILWU official on the Friendly Isle, said the men walked out "because they feel hurt about what happened in the trial."

On Maui, all of Libby's 330 plantation workers and about 180 in the company's cannery were reported idle.

Maui Pineapple Co. reported only a 37 percent turnout in its cannery, while Baldwin Packers said 80 percent of its cannery personnel and 90 percent in the fields are absent.

## SITUATION ON LANAI

Only a few of Hawaiian Pineapple Co.'s 600 employees on Lanai reported for work, a company spokesman said. Harvesting was canceled on the Wahiawa, Oahu plantation when only 200 of a force of 700 employees showed up.

In the company's cannery, however, 90 percent of 2,000 workers were on the job. The sugar industry saw 2,880 absent from work on 4 plantations at Ewa, Waialua, Oahu, and Kahuku. Slightly more than 200 employees showed up on schedule.

On Kauai, 3,435 stayed away from work, affecting production on six plantations. Only at Waimea Sugar Mill Co. was work reported to be normal.

The ILWU, however, officially notified the Garden Island firms that the men would return to work starting with this afternoon's shift.

An employer source on Kauai said the union gave no reason for the walkoffs but asked the plantations to "forgive and forget" and also asked time off for delegates to attend a union convention in Honolulu Wednesday and Thursday.

## SUGAR MILLS CLOSED

Sugar mills of H. C. & S. were closed at Paia and Puunene on Maui, while at Wailuku Sugar Co. milling and harvesting were halted by the absence of 500 men. All of Pioneer Mill Co.'s 900 employees were reported away from work.

On the Maui waterfront, 3 gangs of stevedores were called to work, but only 5 men appeared. Nine longshore checkers showed up but left without working.

Castle & Cooke Terminals, largest waterfront employer in Hawaii, said it called 375 dock hands today, but none showed up. Their absence halted work on four Matson ships in Honolulu Harbor and threatened to idle another freighter arriving this afternoon.

[Honolulu Advertiser, February 15, 1956]

## ILWU BREAKS OFF NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL MITCHELL LEAVES ISLANDS

## PINEAPPLE TALKS HALTED ON VERGE OF SETTLEMENT

A pineapple contract was just hours away when the ILWU served notice it would bargain no more until Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell was out of Hawaii, an industry spokesman said last night.

The union broke off talks in both sugar and pineapple in a 17-minute meeting yesterday afternoon.

President Harry Bridges charged Mr. Mitchell's remark that the union's leadership is "subversive" had made the air too tense for negotiations.

Dwight C. Steele, president of the Hawaii Employers Council, said last night that 8,000 pineapple workers would have had new contracts by today if talks had continued.

"We were," he said, holding his thumb and forefinger a half-inch apart, "just that far from settlement.

"We were scheduled to go into session at 3 o'clock this afternoon for continuous negotiations," he told members of the National Association of Cost Accountants.

"Frankly, I don't know what's going to happen as a result of the union's action today," he said.

"Up until this afternoon I would have said there would be no strike in pineapple. I wouldn't say that now."

Mr. Steele's gloomy picture of the pineapple talks rang down the curtain on one of the most hectic 24 hours in Hawaii's labor history.

It began with Mr. Mitchell's telling San Francisco reporters that the union's leadership is "subversive."

Then the statements began to fly. The typewriters and mimeograph machines clanged away like John Henry's hammer all over town.

1. Jack W. Hall, ILWU regional director, said he would pull out of negotiations if the employees and his union members agreed he was holding up agreement.

2. Mr. Mitchell, arriving in Honolulu, said he thought that might be a good idea. He said Mr. Hall's presence as a convicted Communist conspirator injected an "alien factor" into what is essentially an economic bartering between labor and management. "Hall is not the proper one to handle negotiations if the welfare of the workers is to be protected," he said.

3. Mr. Steele issued an announcement saying that the question of Mr. Hall's withdrawing from negotiations was strictly a union matter.

"The sugar and pineapple industries are required by Federal and Territorial law to bargain with the properly designated representatives of the union which is the collective bargaining representative of their employees," he said. He denied the industry was making any effort to use the labor leader as a "whipping boy" in negotiations.

4. At mid-morning, the ILWU executive board invited Mr. Mitchell to speak before it on the local labor situation.

5. Shortly after noon, Mr. Mitchell replied that it is the Eisenhower administration's policy to "promote to the fullest extent the principle of free collective bargaining, without undue interference on either side by the Government. I propose to adhere to this policy now."

6. After lunch, the ILWU asked the pineapple industry's negotiating committee for an on-the-record meeting. As the meeting opened, ILWU President Harry Bridges read a six-paragraph statement.

It said, in part:

"Because the real issues in dispute between the ILWU and the sugar and pineapple industries of Hawaii have been beclouded by the gratuitous and prejudicial statements of Mr. James P. Mitchell, United States Secretary of Labor, the ILWU wishes to notify the respective negotiating committees of the sugar and pineapple industries of the suspension of any further negotiations until Mr. Mitchell departs from the Territory.

"In taking this action, the ILWU does not intend to accuse the sugar and pineapple industries of Hawaii of arranging for such statements to be made in order to influence the course of the negotiations."

Mr. Steele angrily accused the union of trying to drag the industry into "a dispute you apparently are having with Secretary Mitchell. And apparently you saw fit to use what was intended to be a negotiation meeting for that purpose.

"I don't think that this is going to help relationships between the union and the pineapple companies one bit. I don't think it is going to help reach agreement. So, far as the pineapple companies \* \* \* are concerned \* \* \* we have no interest in being involved in the controversy you appear to be having."

Last night, Mr. Steele hinted at the way the industry feels about the whole thing.

"We can bargain with people even though we don't like their affiliations or their backgrounds. Hall has done a much more constructive job of negotiating in the past 5 years than he did in the years before that.

"I've never defended Hall's affiliations," he said, "nor his personal decision which he made many years ago. But these last few years, he has been very fair at the bargaining table."

Mr. Steele gave no clue to the stands of the seven pineapple companies and the union on the issues of wages and pensions.

These were the only issues blocking agreement the last time the two sides reported publicly on the negotiations.

Yesterday's suspension of the sugar talks apparently will mean little delay in getting negotiations in that industry underway.

Bargaining had been recessed since last Tuesday and there had been speculation that no further moves would come in sugar until the pineapple contracts were settled.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Stephenson—

Senator WATKINS. I would just like to make an observation, provoked by that very advertisement. My own personal conviction is that no group of Americans, no organization, corporation, labor group or otherwise, in this country, should be in a position to have the power to blockade 540,000 Americans, nor to use monopoly control. I think it is un-American, it is contrary to the public policy that, under the Constitution, guarantees us liberty. We legislate against monopolies in the industrial field, and some time and somewhere we've got to have the backbone to take care of this labor movement that has become a monopoly.

Now that's the way I feel about that. And we see what has happened out here. Just by the edict of one man—I don't care whether

he's a Communist or non-Communist, they should not have that power. But, in this case, it is aggravated by the fact that the evidence is strong in the direction that they are Communists, or have been, and are acting, not in behalf of the best interests of the labor union members and of their own communities and of their country, but in the interest of someone else outside who is dictating a policy that will be of benefit to this international conspiracy known as communism.

Senator JOHNSTON. And then, at the same time, claim the rights that the Government has given them under our laws and courts, and also under our National Labor Relations Act. They claim all those rights. When they're in their favor, they claim them, but when it doesn't agree with them, those of course they kick out.

Senator WATKINS. Well, we had an example right here, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. I think we have run off the reel here, Senator. Could we take a half a minute?

Senator JOHNSTON. We will take a 2-minute recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee will resume.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Stephenson, yesterday Senator Dillingham told us that industry has not taken a firm stand against the Communist leadership of the ILWU. Now, in view of the paralysis that you have stated they have been able to effect here on the islands, do you feel that industry has taken a firm stand against the force that can bring about such paralysis for political considerations?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think they have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you develop that?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I base this not only on community observation, and this is my statement purely in a personal capacity because most of the information antedates my connection with the Subversive Activities Commission. I base it not only on open observation and reading newspapers but talking to some rather important men in industry. I can recall three specific conversations in which I was told directly that they resented my anti-Communist efforts, that of myself and others in the community.

Senator JOHNSTON. Did they use those words "anti-Communist"?

Mr. STEPHENSON. They said "People who are too strongly anti-Communist stir up trouble," and I remember the term: "muddy the waters of labor and industrial relations." Several of those meetings were during the 1949 strike.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say those sentiments were expressed by representatives of industry and management?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Certain ones, of course, not all of them.

Mr. STEPHENSON. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Were there any exceptions to that general outlook that you encountered?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think—oh, yes, individually. After all, bargaining was on a centralized basis. And the industry position in general out here has been to say that you can't talk about communism because it is irrelevant to the issue of this particular bargaining session on wages, hours, or working conditions, or mechanization, or something else, and you can't talk about the Communist issue any more than you can talk about the other bargainers' religion, or his

political party. I don't happen to accept that premise, but that has been the premise of industry.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, you mentioned in executive session you have a newspaper clipping, I believe, which further developed that idea.

Mr. STEPHENSON. This is just a little symptom. I don't know whether industry believes that position, whether they believe it, whether they feel it is better to get along and when the crisis finally comes someday, the crisis that they themselves may have helped to accelerate, at the last moment they will expect the Government to bail them out, I don't know. They give the impression of being under intimidation. I use it in the moral sense.

Senator JOHNSTON. So there may be a possibility they think it is just best not to stir up the issue?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Correct, sir. Now, here's a little item on the front page of the Advertiser, January 16, 1955. It reports an NLRB proceeding. What had happened here was that the ILWU had gone to management of a sugar plantation and said, "We want you to fire this gentleman." This gentleman happened not to be an ILWU member. So the union's request was met. And the man had the gumption to file a complaint against the union and the company before the National Labor Relations Board. And this reports the findings of the examiner. The examiner is identified as David F. Doyle.

Senator WATKINS. Does the newspaper story carry the findings made?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes; it does, sir.

Senator WATKINS. Why not have him read that?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I will read this hurriedly; it is a very short article.

An NLRB board examiner ruled today that the Olaa Sugar Co. of Hawaii "weakly submitted" to pressure of the local 142 of the ILWU and fired a nonunion employee because he was critical of the union. Examiner David F. Doyle recommended the company be ordered to rehire Truckdriver Favorito P. Banos, who was discharged in December 1953, and further recommended that Banos be paid all income he normally would have been entitled to since his discharge. Banos was discharged by the company because he was "disrupting harmonious working relations." The company and the union at the time were working out plans to ease the complication resulting from the mechanization of the sugar fields. The proposed change meant a cut in the work force from 1,100 men to 450, of which 75 percent would have been of Filipino descent, including Banos. Banos and two other employees, both union members, circulated a petition which alleged union leadership, primarily of Japanese descent, was discriminating against Filipino workers in the layoff plan. In his brief, Doyle—

that's the trial examiner—

stated that the union asked the company to take action against Banos and "the company weakly submitted to the union's discriminatory demand." Banos appealed to the NLRB, naming both the union and the company in his complaint of discrimination. Doyle noted the company discharged only Banos and not the two other union members who joined him in circulating the petition. The examiner said he was not concerned with the truth or falsity of the charges in the petition. Defending Banos' action as "a fundamental right of free speech" Doyle said "it may be that his criticism of union officials was entirely unjustified, but they must suffer the criticism as one of the unpleasant features of office. They may not silence their critics by force."

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Stephenson, you have, in your official capacity as chairman of the commission, had occasion to observe Communist propaganda as it comes into the islands have you not?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Well, I haven't seen it crossing the border, Mr. Morris, but I have seen it after it has come to rest here; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us about that?

Mr. STEPHENSON. The lifeblood of the Communist movement is in propaganda, in propagating the viewpoint of the Communists, in vilifying the opponent, and it is a worldwide proposition. We have been subject to a considerable barrage of propaganda here. We not only get Communist propaganda of local origin but we get it from overseas.

Mr. Fishman pointed out the other day that, in recent months, propaganda had come into his possession, propaganda originating from satellite countries.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, when Mr. Fishman was testifying he had in his possession material that had arrived that very day from Communist Hungary and Communist China and Communist Czechoslovakia, did he not?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That is correct. That isn't a new development. Approximately 100 pages of the 1955 report of our commission to the legislature, profusely illustrated, showed the existence of this propaganda situation in the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder, Mr. Stephenson, if you would just read that briefly for us?

Mr. STEPHENSON. The hundred pages?

Mr. MORRIS. No, no.

Senator JOHNSTON. Have you noticed any of the local papers reproducing any of the propaganda?

Mr. STEPHENSON. No, sir. Not to my knowledge. I just brought along, Senator, in case you're interested, gathered from various sources here—I mentioned the World Federation of Trade Unions. I think that comes under the heading of Communist propaganda. This is one of their issues that we have. Here is one with Joe Stalin's picture on the front page. The text is in Chinese or Japanese, I don't know which. Here's another one on "The Rosenberg frameup," as they call it, in Japanese. I believe this is one Mr. Fishman showed you. Our issue isn't quite as recent as his. We only have June 1956. I just picked these at random this morning. We have hundreds of them.

Mr. MORRIS. And where generally does this propaganda come from, Mr. Stephenson?

Mr. STEPHENSON. It comes from Japan, Communist sources in Japan, from Red China, some from Russia itself, some from Rumania, some from Czechoslovakia, some from England. The sources behind the Iron Curtain, we can reasonably assume, are Communist controlled, and nothing leaves without the imprimatur of the government. The sources outside the Iron Curtain we are generally in a position to document from other evidence showing their Communist orientation.

In our 1953 report, we pointed out a very neat device that apparently is in use to try to thwart the inspection service that Mr. Fishman referred to the other day. I think he made it clear that first-class mail was not subject to any sort of inspection by customs or Post Office Department for dutiable items or otherwise. So in 1953 we reproduced in our report the cover—that is, an envelope—that was mailed from London to Honolulu, transmitting a piece of Communist propaganda.

The envelope was quite interesting, in that it had originally come out of Pittsburgh. It was a cover for a trade magazine of the steel industry called the Iron Age. And they had mailed it, apparently, to this Communist bookstore in London, and the Commies, instead of throwing away this old envelope, which had the return address of the Steel Age magazine in Pittsburgh, merely pasted a new address label over it, a new English stamp, and sent it through the first-class mail. Anyone looking at that envelope and not looking at it critically would attribute this to the steel industry source. We sweated off the label, of course, and saw that the original addressee who had received that was Collette's Book Store, in London, a well-known Communist bookstore. A friend of mine personally went in there last year, at my request, and bought some representative literature and brought it back to me. It is the same type of literature that is being introduced here in other forms. Collette's Book Store now features Chinese Communist literature in the English language.

Senator JOHNSON. So it is the same general pattern we have found. They have used names of prominent people in order to call it by that name, but it wasn't exactly of that color when you read it or looked into the organization, but it was Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, have you examined this propaganda? Will you tell us about what purpose it is calculated to serve?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Well, in general, I haven't analyzed it for some time or even read most of it, but we have set forth in several of our reports some of the objectives. For example, this agitation on an international basis of many of the issues that we have come to know nationally, such as the Rosenberg case. Now the line—the way you treat that abroad is somewhat different. That is held up abroad to show what a rotten government we have. The "facts," if I may use that term in quote, which are postulated in this literature are usually false.

Senator JOHNSTON. Have you noticed in this community whether they use the different nationalities to try to enter into that particular nationality group? I know you on the islands here have many nationalities, people from various countries. Do you find them getting the propaganda from that country into that particular group of people? We find that's true in some of our larger cities, where we've had investigations.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think as a general proposition that is true. Because it is just like advertising technique. You try to reach the man through his own language, through his own level of speech and comprehension, in the most effective and economical way you can reach him. And the ILWU, for example, carries its radio program, on which Robert McElrath is the so-called commentator, that is carried in English, but they also have—have or have had—broadcasts in Japanese and a Filipino dialect.

You see, there is a large segment of the ILWU who are not citizens of the United States. I don't have the statistics at hand, but I would just hazard a guess that there is probably no union on the mainland that has such a high proportion of aliens as does Local 142 of the ILWU.

Senator WATKINS. Is there any means by which you can get the breakdown of the union membership with respect to citizenship?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think that's available on a reasonably accurate basis, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. I would appreciate very much if you would submit to this committee a memo showing the breakdown of the membership of the organization you just mentioned.

Mr. STEPHENSON. If the ILWU would cooperate with us, we could probably get it very hurriedly.

Senator WATKINS. I would say that probably the organization itself, if it were left to the membership, would cooperate, but I am afraid with some of the leaders we've had in here, you wouldn't get the cooperation.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I am sure they wouldn't put it to a vote either.

Senator WATKINS. It would be interesting to know to what extent aliens are controlling our labor unions and dictate the policy of a labor union.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I don't mean that they control it. I merely stated that——

Senator WATKINS. I merely said "to the extent." I don't know whether they do or don't. That is one thing we would like to know, whether they do or don't. And they may be making great contributions to our labor movement.

I want it distinctly understood that I am not against labor unions as such. I made my reference against monopoly, industrial monopoly which I oppose just as much as I would be against monopoly in the labor field, labor organizations. I have come to feel that, in view of the misuse made of the powers within them, that it presents a real menace to the liberties of the people. And in a case out here, it would actually probably destroy your economy, and it might even cost us a campaign if we got into a war, a campaign to hold these islands. They could easily do that, make a very heavy contribution to our loss.

So I want to make it clear when making these remarks that I am not against labor unions as such. I think they've done a great deal of good, as the corporations and industry, the industrial corporations, have done a great deal of good but sometimes they get in positions where they have powers which they don't always use to the common good and for the public benefit. And the people in the labor unions are just as human as those are in the industrial organizations.

We have measures now before the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate with reference to monopolies in the industrial field, and I think the committee will report on those. We already have on our books, as you know, with respect to antimonopoly, the Sherman Act, and others, and it looks like we have got to get into some other fields where we see there are dangers of actually being destroyed by monopolies in another direction.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I would like to make one observation, Senator, if I may, that was triggered by opening up this question of the racial diversification we have in the islands.

One of the most deadly forms of propaganda is that which is contained in letters from a relative to another relative. We have a large number of people in the Territory of Hawaii, some alien, many more citizens, who have relatives of their own generation or who have forebears or their contemporaries in Japan, in China, in the Philippines. Now if the relatives here who are originating letters to the Western

Pacific area are in any sense influenced by the subversive line that has been taken by this union in its propaganda, then the repetition of the lies of the attacks on this committee, of the attacks on the Secretary of Labor, of the attacks on our courts, is being broadcast abroad, and it tends to lower the esteem of this country in the eyes of persons in foreign nations that we are trying to get along with. That is an inevitable consequence. We just happen to see it concentrated here.

Out here, as I say, is like living in a fish bowl, from a political standpoint and an economic standpoint, simply because of our isolation.

Senator WATKINS. We don't have the same situation probably anywhere else. I mean we don't have the physical situation that would make other communities—put other communities in the same kind of a fish bowl, to use your illustration.

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's correct. So that it is a matter of concern, I believe, that the propaganda and agitational tactics that have been indulged in have continued and gone as far as they have and show every promise of continuing in the future.

And in conclusion, I would like to offer one or two ideas how to attack this problem legislatively.

Senator WATKINS. I am sure the committee would be glad to get those suggestions.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, is this propaganda, is it designed to further Soviet expansion, Communist expansion over the world? Can you tell us anything about it?

Mr. STEPHENSON. In general it is. When it deprecates the United States and glorifies the Soviet Union and satellite nations, when it concerns itself with the internal operations of the United States Government, always in a critical manner, when in none of this do you ever find criticism of the Soviet Union, it is obviously going to hurt this country.

There is a great need for countering that sort of thing because I think it is an elemental rule of psychology that the repetition of a statement, without contradiction from an equally credible source, not only causes it to be believed, but I think entitles the hearer to believe it.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, can you tell us whether the ILWU Book Club has been responsible for the propagation of Communist propaganda?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I cannot give the committee an up-to-date report on the ILWU Book Club because our investigative procedures have been seriously curtailed. They might have effected a tactical dissolution of their club last night, for all I know. But I will tell you what they did when we reported on it. The ILWU Book Club, according to reports of the ILWU itself, was conceived by Harry Bridges, and the idea was—

Senator WATKINS. Is that a matter of public record?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes, sir. We have reported some 50 pages or so on it. It has several purposes, all of which add up to one thing, and that is to get Communist propaganda in the hands of the members of the ILWU through a book club system. Now, it isn't the Book of the Month Club idea, of mailing the stuff. It involves selection of materials. That is point No. 1. Point No. 2: Trying to make materials available in cheap editions. And No. 3: Either selling those materials directly to union members or making them available free at lending libraries.

And Mr. David Evans Thompson, who was in here the other day and refused to give information, rendered a report to the ILWU membership on the subject of this club in his capacity of educational director. That term literally—liberally translated means one in charge of propagandizing the members of the union. He reported that there were 18 of these libraries.

Well, now, liberally translated, that is another way of saying there are 18 Communist bookshops.

Mr. MORRIS. Each one of them propagating Communist material?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes. We made a very detailed analysis in our 1955 report of every book recommended by that club that we could get our hands on. Now, in the context in which I am speaking, an evaluation of a book can lead to the conclusion that it is pro-Communist or anti-Communist or is neutral. Maybe it has nothing to do with communism. But if you are going to evaluate books from this one standpoint, you grade them as 1, 2 or 3. When you take these books that we analyzed, that means that the commission's staff read them and as far as possible the commissioners read them, and we found that oddly enough they fell into 2 classes, not 3. There were some books that were strictly non pro-Communist, non anti-Communist. I think Roberts Rules of Order was one. Another one on "What to do until the doctor comes." Now, those are strictly non-controversial in this context. But every one that didn't fall in the neutral category was pro-Communist, either in authorship or in content or both, and there was not an anti-Communist publication, because this union leadership has never given its membership a free choice.

Senator JOHNSTON. There is a book put out by this committee on the dangers of communism; you haven't seen them distributing that, have you?

Mr. STEPHENSON. No, sir. They have never given their membership a free choice of reading or listening or otherwise. They have never presented the pro-Communist viewpoint as against the anti-Communist, because they're only interested in propagating the pro-Communists, and they would be silly to present the other side. I say that advisedly, as one who has had considerable experience in psychological warfare. It would be stupid, and Harry Bridges and his boys aren't noted for being stupid.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record at this time the section of the 1955 Report of the Territorial Commission on the ILWU book club.

Senator JOHNSTON. And have it printed in the record?

Mr. MORRIS. And have it printed in the record as an appendix.

Senator WATKINS. I think it ought to be done.

Mr. MORRIS. It has many valuable facts and all relevant directly to the investigation we are conducting, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. It shall be printed in the record.

Senator WATKINS. May I ask this question? Is this entire volume from which that excerpt is taken available to the committee?

Mr. MORRIS. That is one thing I wanted to take up, Senator, before we close this morning. That all the material in the possession of the commission at this time and now under subpoena by the Internal Security Subcommittee, I would like to strongly recommend, Mr. Chairman and Senator Watkins, that we keep that subpoena an open subpoena. I have discussed this with the chairman. Because there are many

things that Mr. Mandel is now working on at research level that will require us to take the fullest advantage of these particular files.

Senator JOHNSTON. All these records shall be kept under subpoena until we have had a chance to scrutinize them and decide just what we want to keep permanently.

Senator WATKINS. I would like to go further than that and say that they ought to be filed as an exhibit in this case, these volumes, the reports of this commission, so they would be available at any time to us.

Mr. MORRIS. I think it would be appropriate, Senator. I suggest the way of doing it would be to take the reports, the 1951, 1953, 1954 and 1955 reports, and print them as appendices to the hearings that are taking place here. I think by using small print and everything we could do a relatively digested form.

Senator WATKINS. The report itself contains much of the detail.

Mr. MORRIS. It is all very necessary and pertinent to this inquiry, Senator. I have examined them thoroughly, and Mr. Mandel has, and the work that this commission has done has just been tremendous, in analyzing this problem.

Senator WATKINS. Then, as a formal matter, if they were filed as exhibits, received as exhibits, not necessarily all printed in the record, then they could be printed as you suggest.

Mr. MORRIS. As an appendix to these hearings, when these hearings are printed.

Senator WATKINS. Certainly.

Senator JOHNSTON. Hearing no opposition, it will be printed as an appendix to the record.

(The reports above referred to appear as appendices A, B and C, part 41-A)

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, generally, now that Mr. Stephenson is on the stand, the committee has, certainly at staff level, and the chairman has been impressed by the fact that the commission has done such thorough work here on all of these things, and I suppose really, Senator, one of the facts we have to determine is to what extent can the reports and findings of a commission at this level be accepted by the Senate of the United States as a realistic presentation of the situation here. Of course, at the present time, we are slightly handicapped because the commission is not functioning since it has run out of funds. But, Senators, we can in the future, if we can assess the work of a commission and if we find that a commission is very, very thoroughly covering the field and its reports are reliable, and after we make our own investigation into the situation, it may well be that we could have a continuing relationship. In other words, instead of having a hearing on the situation in Honolulu or Hawaii, we can read the reports and know them and evaluate them and we can almost, with proper amount of evaluation, accept those conclusions and reports as accurate in describing the conditions that exist here.

Senator WATKINS. I think we can go one step further than that. If it is going to be a handicap to this commission because of the lack of funds, there may be some cooperative work we could do or action we can take to see that they do have ample funds to keep up a continuing investigation, probably a more complete one than they have been able to conduct at the present time. In other words, I feel that we have got to have more cooperation from the people in a community such as this, where these things are developing. Now, that's

the only way we are ever going to be able to succeed in the direction of bringing about a remedy for this situation, is to have the strongest cooperation possible. I am not criticizing them in any way because of any alleged lack of cooperation in the past. But the local people can help tremendously in rooting out this evil of communism. And I mean a strong stand taken by the leaders in the labor unions we have, and I am sure we have the strongest kind of support from the CIO and the A. F. of L. and other standard labor unions; they can help and they are helping. It so happens the unions just named do not have large memberships out here; they seem to be in the minority. But cooperation of the community is going to be one of the strongest supports that can be given, and it should be developed to the ultimate in this fight against communism.

That is one of the pleas I make to the people here now. I have made it publicly at other places and I certainly renew it now.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think any intelligent person can fully realize that \$20,000 to be used over a term of 2 years is not sufficient to really do the job here that should be done. And I hope that the Territorial authorities will see to it this time that they get an appropriation adequate to do the job. But I also believe that the Congress of the United States will be glad to supplement those funds and see that the job is done and done right here in the Territory. That is in no way a reflection upon the work that the commission here has already done. I think you have done an excellent job, with the amount of money you've had to do it with. I don't see how you've done such a good job with so little money. But I think everyone who has listened into these hearings has realized that it is our duty as American citizens to see that communism is stamped out in this island. And in order to do that, we owe the island a duty to help you in this matter with which we are now faced. And for that reason, I know I speak for the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee when I say that we commend you for the work you have done and hope you will have sufficient funds in the future.

Senator WATKINS. I say "amen" to everything you have said, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as we now have in the record the conclusion, the result of the work done by the commission, now are there any other facts, Mr. Stephenson, that you think would have to be added to this particular record further than the information and the conclusion set forth in your report?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think perhaps I wasn't following too closely when you asked specifically about the propaganda coming in here. I think that one thing that ought to be mentioned is the germ warfare propaganda.

There is pending in San Francisco for trial the indictment of three Americans who published a monthly magazine in Shanghai. That's behind the Red Curtain. And again I say you don't publish stuff there and export it to America unless it bears the imprint and is censored by the Red Chinese authorities.

Now, that came out in testimony here the other day, that the Honolulu Record and Wilfred Oka are the people who were circulating that material in this community. Our commission purchased copies to be sure it wasn't just something we were reading in the newspaper.

We went down and bought copies. We bought copies subsequently to those mentioned in the record the other day.

The Honolulu Record itself repeated many of the germ warfare charges, a vicious bunch of lies, that are now the subject of an indictment for sedition.

In reverse, the American Communists—the propaganda of American Communist origin of the type circulated by the ILWU Book Club was in turn used by the Chinese Communists to brainwash American prisoners who had been captured in Korea. That is established by testimony already had before your committee several years ago. They mention the title to the book. I tell you that those same books are on the recommended and circulated lists to the ILWU Book Club. This whole thing ties together.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, would you say that the situation over the past year, Mr. Stephenson, is abating or is it continuing with the same force that it has in the past?

Mr. STEPHENSON. With regard to propaganda?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, let's say first with regard to propaganda.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I am hardly able now to answer that question because of the restrictions in our operations. We have not been able to follow up our normal investigative procedure to get the materials that are needed to establish the fact upon which I would base an opinion.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, have you been able to observe, as an overall picture, whether or not Communist influence, as it has been manifested through the operations of the ILWU and the United Public Workers, whether that is increasing, whether it is diminishing, whether it is remaining approximately the same? I would like to point out that that is an important consideration for us. Much of your evidence has dealt with facts which have taken place over the last few years. I am wondering if you, sitting as chairman of the Territorial commission, are in a position to appraise the extent of Communist influence, with respect to its proportion?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I should like the record to show that I must of necessity speak as an individual when I give an opinion. And our commission was set up and has always operated on the premise that it is a deliberative body that is meant to find facts, and if we commissioners go around the community giving our individual viewpoints, we might have seven different viewpoints on the same question.

By deliberative consultation and analysis of materials, we try to reach a common statement of facts. So with that understanding, I will state my personal impression.

I would like to put it this way. I see no significant diminution in the Communist power in Hawaii. I don't care what date you start at—1946, 1948, 1950—if two men will agree on the starting point, my opinion is that since that particular date, whatever you pick, up to now there has been no significant diminution.

The power of the identified Communists and the practicing Communists, and I say that without regard to whether they are formally enrolled Communist Party members—that to my mind is perhaps immaterial—that if they function as Communists, accept Communist discipline, transmit Communist orders, as well as accept them, and forever follow a line that never once deviates from the line of the

master state Russia, the mother country, as they call it, then I say they are Communists.

Now, there have been some signs of local defection of anti—I will withdraw that word. It is not defection—it is insurrection, revolt—on the Island of Kauai, against this Communist leadership. It is a healthy sign. The fact remains, however, that in my analysis, and I think Harry Bridges and Jack Hall concur with me in this, the most important place in which they must retain their power and retain it for the longest, if they have to ever give it up, is at the Honolulu waterfront. And I see no signs of a diminution of power there.

Now, let's take this other Communist-led union, the United Public Workers. That has gotten stronger over the years. Their membership has gone up. I mean they are of relatively recent origin.

MR. MORRIS. Could you tell us, Mr. Stephenson, where they organize now?

MR. STEPHENSON. I think you asked me to—you did ask me to produce for the record copies of some of our files with regard to the distribution of members of the UPW.

MR. MORRIS. Tell us briefly about that, would you, for the record, Mr. Stephenson.

MR. STEPHENSON. I might say that our government out here accommodates the UPW in the collection of its dues. I think you Senators are undoubtedly familiar with the checkoff in industry. We have a similar procedure. A man can sign a slip with the county auditor that he wants his UPW dues deducted from his pay and remitted directly to the union.

Senator WATKINS. That is, you're talking about the local government?

MR. STEPHENSON. Yes, sir.

Senator WATKINS. There isn't any checkoff by the Federal Government, is there?

MR. STEPHENSON. No, sir. It is only in the local county government.

Senator WATKINS. Would you have any difficulty in getting the membership rolls of this organization through your commission?

MR. STEPHENSON. Of the United Public Workers?

Senator WATKINS. Yes.

MR. STEPHENSON. We haven't tried that, I think.

Senator WATKINS. We asked Abram Flaxer for them in the hearings in Washington, at least I did, and he refused to give them, and that was the basis of the charge for contempt, his refusal to honor an order of the chairman of the committee at that time, to furnish those membership rolls. I think the Government is entitled to know the persons who are members of these organizations. I mean employees of the Government. There is no crime in joining it unless the purpose of the organization is to overthrow the Government or to do anything against the laws of the United States or the States or the Territories or municipalities where they live. But the Government would be interested in knowing, and I would be interested in knowing if there is any such a thing as a checkoff or pay out by the Federal Government on any of these.

MR. STEPHENSON. No, not that I know of. I didn't mean to imply, Senator, that we don't have access to the information or that we don't have the information. I meant, in my answer, that we hadn't gotten it from the union itself.

Mr. MORRIS. Won't you tell us generally, Mr. Stephenson, where these UPW workers are?

Mr. STEPHENSON. These are slightly outdated reports, but they are representative. The County of Kauai: out of 231 members whose dues were being paid through the county auditor—there could be other members who were paying their dues directly—150 of these were in the public works department, 33 in the fire department, 7 in the water-works, 6 school janitors, 1 in the auditing department, and 34 in the hospitals.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, they're all organized by the United Public Workers, the leadership of which has been shown to be Communist-controlled?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Correct. And the leadership of which has been in here in the last few days.

On this island, which constitutes the city and county of Honolulu: sheriff's office 22 employees, division of refuse collection and disposal 50; division of road maintenance 33; health department 17; department of public instruction, janitors, 3.

Senator JOHNSTON. Let me ask one question there.

Where they are known to be Communist-controlled, do you think it is right for the government to have to collect the dues?

Mr. STEPHENSON. I do not.

Senator JOHNSTON. What effect would it have if you stopped collecting the dues? Would it help the situation any, do you think?

Mr. STEPHENSON. It would put the union to a little more trouble. I am talking about the union leaders. It would put them to more trouble to get the money. This way, their action is just like a collection agency which garnishees a man's wages at the source and they're sure of getting it every month as long as he has a job.

Senator JOHNSTON. I believe you're going to make recommendations as to some changes in the law to us?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes, sir.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think it would be well to at least call that to our attention for study.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I offer this for the record.

Have you identified it fully, Mr. Stephenson?

Mr. STEPHENSON. These are Verifax copies of letters, in the files of the Commission on Subversive Activities, which were received from the various county auditors in response to our official requests to them for the information.

Mr. MORRIS. And this purports to show how the United Public Workers have organized among government workers here, at a time when the United Public Workers was under the control of Communist leadership?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's correct. And that's only a partial list. It shows the distribution, what type of departments they're in. I believe, in one county, the whole fire department is now organized. I don't think any policemen are.

(The reports referred to above were marked "Exhibits No. 401 to 401-C" and read as follows:)

## EXHIBIT No. 401

OFFICE OF COUNTY AUDITOR,  
County of Kauai, Lihue, Hawaii, October 8, 1954.

COMMISSION ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII,  
Honolulu, T. H.

(Attention: Mr. T. Emanuel, Executive.)

GENTLEMEN: In compliance with your request of October 7, 1954, we submit the following:

*Number of employees who have authorized payments of dues to UPW as of  
Sept. 30, 1954*

Department:	
Auditing.....	1
Fire.....	33
Public works.....	150
Waterworks.....	7
Mahelona Hospital.....	34
School janitors.....	6
Total.....	231

Very truly yours,

K. M. AHANA,  
Auditor, County of Kauai.

## EXHIBIT No. 401-A

CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU,  
OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR,  
Honolulu, Hawaii, October 11, 1954.

COMMISSION ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII,  
Tax Office Building, Honolulu, T. H.

(Attention of Mr. T. Emanuel, Executive.)

GENTLEMEN: Based on information available, this is the information you request in your confidential letter of October 7, 1954.

Department	Total number of employees	Date of pay-roll deduction of UPW dues
Sheriff's office.....	22	Sept. 30, 1954
Division of refuse collection and disposal.....	50	Sept. 15, 1954
Division of road maintenance.....	33	Sept. 15, 1954
Health department.....	17	Sept. 15, 1954
Department of public instructions (school janitors).....	3	Sept. 15, 1954
Total number of employees.....	125	

Very truly yours,

MAXWELL C. LEVINE, F. A. I. A. (ENG.)  
First Deputy Auditor, City and County of Honolulu.

## EXHIBIT No. 401-B

OFFICE OF AUDITOR,  
Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii, October 11, 1954.

Mr. T. EMANUEL,

Executive Commission on Subversive Activities of the Territory of Hawaii,  
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: As requested in your letter dated October 7, 1954, the following shows, by departments, the number of employees of the County of Maui who

have authorized payroll deductions for payment of dues to the United Public Workers for the month ending September 30, 1954 :

Hospitals :	
Kula Sanatorium.....	82
Central Maui Memorial Hospital.....	27
Hana Hospital.....	4
Schools :	
Electrician.....	1
Janitors.....	4
Fire departments.....	26
Board of parks, playgrounds, and recreation.....	20
Maui County Waterworks Board.....	19
Humane office (dog warden).....	1
Department of public works :	
Engineer's office.....	6
Janitors.....	3
Sewer and garbage.....	9
Road department and garage.....	22
Carpenters and painters.....	18
Wailuku Road District.....	26
Makawao Road District.....	11
Lahaina Road District.....	8
Hana Road District.....	16
Molokai Road District.....	19
Total.....	322
Yours very truly,	

SAM ALO, SR.,  
*Auditor, County of Maui.*

EXHIBIT No. 401-C

COUNTY OF HAWAII,  
AUDITING DEPARTMENT,  
*Hilo, Hawaii, October 15, 1954.*

MR. T. EMANUEL,  
*Commission on Subversive Activities,*  
*Honolulu, Oahu.*

DEAR SIR: I have enclosed a list giving the information which you requested in your letter of October 7, 1954.

Very truly yours,

EDWIN A. G. SILVA,  
*Auditor, County of Hawaii.*

*Number of employees who have authorized deductions for payment of dues to the United Public Workers, by departments, as of Sept. 30, 1954*

Chairman's.....	1
Department of Public Works—Engineers :	
Street painting.....	3
Plumbing.....	1
Painters.....	19
Parks.....	5
Municipal golf course.....	5
Road :	
South Hilo.....	55
Puna.....	19
Kau.....	15
N. and S. Kona.....	26
N. and S. Kohala.....	19
Hamakua.....	17
North Hilo.....	10
Hilo Memorial Hospital.....	1
Puunamale Hospital.....	34
Kohala Hospital.....	1
Total.....	231

Mr. STEPHENSON. But in terms of your question, Mr. Morris, as to whether the Communists here are gaining or losing strength, as far as the United Public Workers is concerned, they have gotten stronger, and they have also gotten more contemptuous. I would like to make this observation, that in the general layman's sense of the term, there has been a lot of "contempt" expressed for this committee in its presence. I will illustrate that.

Senator WATKINS. I think the committee is aware of the contempt that has been expressed here.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I wanted to say, Senator—

Senator WATKINS. It would be interesting to get the point of view of some other person. I have noted it as it has gone on, but we are not the law-enforcing body. When, for instance, a witness refuses to answer after the chairman has ruled that this objection is not good, and he is directed to answer, they do not reply. I had a young person last night—he had been attending the hearings—ask me, he said, "Senator, why don't you do something about it? When you order them to do it, and they don't do it, why do you go through that if you don't intend to make them do it?" Well, of course, as lawyers know, that procedure is for the purpose of the record. So that we can recommend contempt proceedings, prosecution for contempt of the Senate committee, the chairman has to order the witness to answer after it has been called to his attention. We can't bodily force them to answer. But the witness incurs the possibility of a prosecution after the chairman specifically directs him to answer the question—after the ruling has been made that the objection is not good and that he should answer, and he is directed and ordered to answer.

Now, we're just a committee. We don't have any enforcing power. It has to be done by the executive when it comes to prosecution, and all that sort of thing. The witness runs that risk. But as a matter of procedure and for the purpose of building the proper kind of a record, we have to take that procedure. We have to take that stand.

I wanted to say that publicly so the people here would understand that that is not an idle gesture. There may be prosecutions under it and there may not be after the record is examined by the lawyers to see whether or not a crime or contempt has actually been committed. It may be that we are wrong in our decision. But at least we have to make the record as we go along. And that's why that's done, and because we don't have any enforcement powers we can't physically force them to answer or send them to jail right now because they don't answer. We cite them for contempt. It lies with the executive department first to bring the prosecution, and the judicial department will determine whether or not they have been guilty. In other words, we are not trying to take on the executive powers nor the judicial powers. We only have legislative powers. It is a long cumbersome machinery but it has worked for a good many years. At least we're alive and the strongest Nation in the world and we wouldn't want to change it. We might get rid of a few defects that appear now and then, but we wouldn't want to change generally that system.

Mr. STEPHENSON. Senator, I didn't mean to create a false impression by suggesting the committee should do anything.

Getting into this question of Communist control and discipline, and that's why I said "in the layman's sense of the term." The exam-

ple is this. You have a witness come in here and refuse to answer the question as to whether he works for the Honolulu Record. And yet he so testified in a civil court in the Territory a couple of months ago; he was called as a witness in a civil trial and he identified himself as a reporter for the Honolulu Record. But when he comes over here—and there is a calculated resistance to the inquiry of this committee—he then invokes the fifth amendment. As a lawyer, I wouldn't say that he didn't have the right to. I know of his appearance in another tribunal and his answering the question does not constitute a waiver of his right to invoke the privilege here, but it does show, to my mind, a certain discipline that these people are operating under. The case in which this man appeared as a witness was a nonideological matter. The Communist issue wasn't involved. But that man must know that a record is made of his testimony, so if he is really in fear of self-incrimination he knows that the record has been made. But no, he comes before this committee, and as part of the hostility, the studied and premeditated contempt that has been generated in this community from three main sources, the ILWU, the UPW, and the Honolulu Record, a different performance is made before this committee.

Senator WATKINS. What in effect I get, the impression, what you are saying is that he actually shows a contempt although it may not be a legal contempt.

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes, sir. That's why I said "in the layman's sense of the term" he was contemptuous.

Senator WATKINS. There isn't any doubt about that. The people who sat here and listened, I know they get that impression immediately. "Why, look at the contempt they show. They don't pay any attention to what you tell them."

Mr. STEPHENSON. Of course, the obvious conclusion to be drawn from some of the facts that I have outlined, in my mind, is that there is a continuing Communist conspiracy. Otherwise, how do you explain these things?

Senator WATKINS. Well, the overall picture of what has happened here has convinced me that there is such a continuing conspiracy, and the very fact that every one of them comes along and takes the same identical position, is represented by the same counsel, and all that sort of thing, while they have a legal right to do it, yet to me there is a convincing position shown and a situation shown which indicates very strongly that it is the result of a conspiracy.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, you were going to make some legislative recommendation for us, based on your experience with the commission.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I apologize for the fact that I haven't gone into this too thoroughly. Mr. Morris suggested yesterday that you might be interested, and I sat down last night and scribbled a few notes. Some of these are suggested by recommendations that our own commission has made to our own legislature. One that I think the Congress should be particularly interested in, I think will be appreciated by you gentlemen because of the Abram Flaxer case. I think the Government has a responsibility to the people to protect the Government against infiltration. And you have a very odd situation, that under the Federal employees loyalty program, as well as under the Territorial, a similar program, that every last employee, be he one

having access to sensitive materials or be he the janitor in this building or in the post office, is subject to a rather extensive loyalty procedure.

Senator WATKINS. We have that now.

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes, sir. But a group of these employees can band together for their common good purpose, let's say, and they happen to get attached to a person like Abram Flaxer or Henry Epstein, who is articulate, and he can represent them. Now, he is not subject to any loyalty procedure. In other words, if you as, let's say, a department head in the executive branch of the Government, were confronted by a request for an interview from one of your probationary employees, and he hasn't gone through the loyalty procedure, you could say, "Here, look. I don't have to deal with you. You're not even a qualified employee of the Government." But you can't tell that to Abram Flaxer.

The Communists can run any sort of bunch of agents they want into these unions. And until we do something about requiring those who represent public employees to be subjected to the same loyalty standards as the employees that they represent we are not only being foolish but we're being unfair and discriminatory to our own public workers themselves.

Senator WATKINS. Sounds like there is merit to that suggestion.

Mr. STEPHENSON. We suggested such a statute to our legislature here, pointing out this interesting bifurcation. You have this great mass of public workers over here, who aren't Communists, they aren't Communist Party members, and also do not have much time to devote to union affairs, they're working full-time for a living, they meet once a month maybe; on the other hand, you have a paid full-time office staff and they're all Communists.

Now, the boys who are working for the Government, who have gone through the loyalty procedures, are over here, and these fellows, who are doing the damage and ultimately hurting their own workers, are insulated from any inquiry because they say, "We're not public employees; we don't have to fill out that questionnaire."

I think it is a very simple proposition.

Mr. MORRIS. Any other legislative recommendations, Mr. Stephenson?

Mr. STEPHENSON. To make that enforceable, we pointed out to our legislature, however, we didn't advocate criminal action, but we did say this: That if the leaders of public workers' unions or other organizations refuse to qualify under statute requiring them to show their loyalty as much as the workers they represent, then no department or officer of Government shall bargain or receive in any way representatives of that union. And, secondly, that upon the non-compliance of that union's officers being established in due process, notification should be given to the members, and it is thereafter unlawful for them to be or remain or become a member of that organization whose officials are not qualified; not subject to criminal penalty but to dismissal.

Now those are the possible approaches to that problem.

Senator JOHNSTON. Why do you stop without making it a criminal offense?

Mr. STEPHENSON. You make it a ground for dismissal, Senator. That's my own feeling.

Senator WATKINS. In other words, you put some of the responsibility on the members of the unions themselves to see to it that they are properly officered?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's correct.

Senator WATKINS. Rather than the Government trying to do it all for them.

Mr. STEPHENSON. Exactly.

Senator WATKINS. And if they know that they might possibly be discharged if they don't have the proper leadership, why, then, they're going to get busy and take care of it.

Mr. STEPHENSON. Yes, sir. And I can assure you that I am personally going to see what I can do at our next legislature to have serious consideration given to this proposal on a local level.

Senator JOHNSTON. What would be the objection, as to the other man outside of the Government, who is not a Government employee, making him subject to a criminal offense?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's one approach.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think personally that's the man we ought to step down on.

Mr. STEPHENSON. We weren't speaking for our commission report. We weren't urging punitive penal action, but it is certainly constitutional to do so.

Senator JOHNSTON. We will take a 2-minute recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I think the next statutory area in which some good for the Territory of Hawaii can be done is that with reference to the power of the President to act as President Eisenhower did very recently in the east coast dock strike.

Now, as I understand it, I haven't researched the statute, but as I understand it, there must be a finding by the fact-finding board of a national emergency before the President can send the Attorney General into court and ask for an injunction and get, I think it is, 80 days injunction to provide for a cooling-off period.

We have run up against the proposition starting in 1949 that a complete tieup out here isn't a national emergency. Now, that is a matter of definition. I happen to—

Senator WATKINS. I have always been in the position of disagreement with that interpretation, that conclusion. I think it is. From what has already been said here, about the strategic location and the importance to the country, it seems to me it is a national emergency. I never agreed with that conclusion.

Mr. STEPHENSON. At least, Senator, those who would have to act have taken that position. So I think, by a very minor change in the statute, there would be no problem in taking Hawaii aside and saying, "Here is an area that has no alternative means of communication." And I'm going to illustrate that. If Harry Bridges pulls out all of the longshoremen in the San Francisco bay area, the people in San Francisco aren't going to starve. There are still railroads running, there are the great interstate buses; you can hop in your own car and drive 50 miles to the beautiful truck-farm area down around San Jose. In other words, they have all kinds of means of serving themselves.

We get the same strike out here and those alternatives hardly exist. We have a certain amount of local production of foodstuffs but it is

# 540,000 AMERICANS BLOCKADED

# National Safety Is Imperile

Blockade of Hawaii by Har-  
ry Bridges' longshore union is  
not a local labor dispute. It  
is an active threat against the  
Government of the United  
States, which United States  
Senator Hugh Butler told Con-  
gress was ready made to  
know, even before the Har-  
ry Bridges has made any  
plain his ambition to subjugate  
the American people of Hawaii  
to his will, wreck their indus-  
tries and commerce, the United  
States in poverty and stridum.

He has engineered in a single political package that have totally separated completely Hawaii's transportation liabilities. Three years ago his henchmen made heavy inroads into the Territorial legislature in an abortive attempt to take over the Democratic party lock, stock and barrel. Their failure to do so resulted in 1948 elections undoubtedly was one of the motivating causes of today's Blockade of the Territory. Bridges now seek to achieve by force what they failed to accomplish by

"Bridges is the unseen Communist dictator of Hawaii," Senator Butler told Congress and added, "The Kremlin in Moscow," regarded Hawaii as its principal puppeting tool in the Pacific, and the Communist United States of America."

wise." Again, at University of Washington Luncheon Club in Seattle

"We have nothing in common with the employers. We are in a class struggle and we subscribe to the belief that if the employer is not in business his products still will be necessary and we will be providing them when there is no employing class. We frankly believe that day is coming."

## HAWAIIANS ARE AMERICANS

Hawaii's people are Americans. They are not Communists. They want no part of Communism; Yet thus far they have been left by the rest of their Country to fight the Red Menace alone and unaided!

President Truman takes the position that his "inherent powers" are inadequate to lift the Communist-inspired Blockade of Hawaii!

Chairman John S. Wood of the House Un-American Activities Committee says he will not ask the Communist to attack on Hawaii, but the Blockade of Hawaii is lifted!

**THREAT AGAINST NATION**

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese destroyed the American Fleet at Pearl Harbor, followed with an attempt to capture Hawaii as a base of operations against the United States Mainland.

Now in 1949 the Communists are softening up Hawaii in an effort to capture it as a base for operations against the American form of government.

The Congress can save Hawaii and the Country from this menace. It is the duty of every patriotic American to make sure his or her Member of Congress knows this. Give your Senators and Representatives at Washington the facts.

## Food Rotting On Ships In Hawaii Ports

Food riots in the holds of ships that are strickenbound in Hawaii's ports while Harry Bridges' longshoremen blockade this American Territory. Onlookers on one ship became so foul that the consignees declared them "garbage," whereupon the Blockaders permitted their removal to an incinerator. Potatoes are sprouting and spoiling in the same ship, while Hawaii goes without potatoes.

A shipment of powdered eggs, brought into Pearl Harbor on a government ship for use on public schools, arrived after vacation began. The Department of Agriculture refuses to permit their diversion to bakery use, although several small bakeries are at the point of shutting down for lack of egg powder. This diversion would "create a dangerous precedent," the department ruled.

## Housewives Rise Against Blockaders

Hawaii's housewives and women workers, desperate over the suffering that has been brought upon their families, the loss of their employment and that of the men of the islands, have organized the "Broom Brigade" to picket the Blockaders' headquarters on the waterfront daily. They bear brooms on which are slogans, urging the longshoremen to join the picket line and to return to work. "We are not for Good Unions," the signs read. "We are for the Hawaiian race." Women of all the many racial strains in Hawaii's population are taking part in the picket line. The Blockaders attempted to form a counter-picket line of women but had indifferent success. The largest turn-out they had was less than 30 women. The picket line on Broadway drew 300-400 pickets daily.

## Public Rises

## Against Buying An Armistice

Pretense for the Longshore strike with which Harry Bridges has Blackballed Hawaii was a demand for an increase of 32 cents an hour for the 12,000 men offered 12 cents an hour, although they made a lot more, although they indicated that more than 8 cents was justified, either by local conditions or by the fact that the Longshoremen's California leaders rejected the 12-cent offer and declared a strike.

It was a very big strike, involving almost half the men already overburdened shoulders by Bridges' Labor Monopoly in the Hawaiian Islands. By the people of Hawaii rose in support. They insisted that no more men be sent to the islands at a time when they could not afford it.

But we have paid ransom to the "last time" was the public sentiment expressed on every side."

## Arbitration Not Answer to Problem

Although the blockade of Ha-  
waii was begun in a pretense  
that it was a bid for a 32-cen-  
t-per-hour wage increase for long-  
shoremen, it became soon ap-  
parent that its real objective  
was to force arbitration of wages  
upon management in this  
American Territory. A strong  
propaganda campaign was  
started towards that end and  
was meeting with some success  
until the public came to realize  
the trickery involved.

Their proposal actually was to turn new contract-making over to an outsider for arbitrary action. For no contact existed now between the longshoremen and the employers.

## Bridges' 15-Year War On American People of Hawaii

Here is the record of 15 years warfare Harry Bridges has waged against the American people in Hawaii, an Organized Territory of the United States, through his efforts to overthrow the Hawaiian monarchy and to install the CIO-Union, and International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, which CIO President Philip Murray has designated Communist-dominated.

1934—Hawaii-West Coast shipping halted by strike for 14 days.

1936—Hawaii-West Coast shipping halted by strike for 23 days.

1937—Hawaii-West Coast shipping halted by strike for 159 days.

1946—Twenty strikes against 42 longshore, fruit pack, bagging, sawing and milling companies, plus an industry-wide strike against the National Industrial Conference Board, resulted in a 10 percent wage increase. Inflationary pressure and transportation disruption effects still being felt in 1949 through.

1947—Twenty-four strikes against 39 companies, including 10 longshore strikes, resulted in a 10 percent wage increase. Inflationary pressure and transportation disruption effects still being felt in 1949 through.

1948—Shrimping crippled 94 days by West Coast longshore strike at cost of \$160,000 to Hawaii's people. The strike brought two weeks' production losses, and a railroad strike.

1949—Mainland-Hawaii shipping totally paralyzed by 10-day longshore strike. Hawaii's economy was damaged which offered 12 percent wage raise. Bridges demanded 32 cents. Black-and-white strike against the National Industrial Conference Board, plus a strike in steel for Island Americans in bondage. Sugar cut prices, same union, have voted strike since entrance

# How Mainlanders Can Help Rescue People of Hawaii

Through their Bar Association, the leaders of Hawaii called upon the United States Department of Justice to inquire into the influence of the Communist Party of America on the organized American Territory. They have also asked that the General urge upon Congress legislation that will prevent Bridges from isolating Hawaii whenever it suits his fancy, see their means of livelihood, their jobs, their homes and hope for the future being destroyed by ruthless Blockaders. They believe they deserve better from their country and from fellow Americans.

riawan has a proud record of American service in World War II. Its people have lived accordingly. More than 100 years, have been Amer-

**BRIDGES, SEEKER OF PRIVILEGE**

The people of the Territory do not believe they are going abandoned now by their countrymen. They expect their American friends to rise up and say with them, "This shall not be. A man who has been so long in the Territory and who has been imposed upon by seekers of special privilege shall not be abandoned."

And that is what Harry Bridges has been seeking, and obtaining, during the past 15 years during which he has waged ruthless war on Hawaii's American people.

## TALK TO WASHINGTON

What can the American people in the rest of the United States do to rescue their countrymen in Hawaii? They can write and call their Senators and Representatives, and urge them to write to their Congressmen, to the Department of Justice, to their State Attorneys General, and to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They can demand that the President's Action be taken to end this blockade at once. They can demand that laws be enacted that will keep the Japanese from coming back to Hawaii, and that they shall not be allowed when labor and management are in disagreement.

### When Soviet Russia attempted to starve

Senator Hugh Butler told the Congress on June 23, 1949, that repeated assaults on Hawaii are part of a plan ready-made in Moscow to maintain this Territory as a principle base for a communist attack on American Government. The whole country is in Hawaii's problem.

**The time to act is today. Tomorrow may be too late.**

# U.S. Citizens Hostages In ILWU Strike

The people of Hawaii—450,000 loyal American citizens living in an Organized Territory of the United States—are being held in bondage today by Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (CIO). This union is declared by Phillip Murray CIO President, U. S. Senator Hugh Butler and many others to be Communist-dominated.

The people of Hawaii have been under blockade through a longshore strike since May 1, their only transportation link with the outside world being a passenger service of airlines, transporters devoted to government business and "relief ships" which Bridges and his henchmen occasionally "permit" to bring in a load of food—the nature of which they pass on when it suits their convenience to do so. Strikers have to eat, too.

too.  
BABIES NEED MILK

One New York newspaper reported caustically that "no one has starved in Hawaii." That is true, but babies are short of milk, food supplies for adults lack many essentials—potatoes, onions, eggs, products for babies, and so on. Stores are emptying rapidly. —42 stores are completely out of stock, 33 have gone out of business, 39 others report they will be forced into liquidation. Every soon, hundreds report serious and "very serious" depletion of merchandise.

Sugar mills have had to shut down because they have no place in which to store their product and cannot ship it to the mainland. Pineapple companies face a shortage of cans as the peak season approaches. The tourist industry, just resuming on a large scale, has suffered a setback from which it will be long in recovering. A sugar strike, already authorized, would surely wreck some plantations.

THOUSANDS ARE JOBLESS

More than 20,000 persons are jobless, 10,000—an all time high—are drawing relief compensation. Business firms have had to lay off 2,461 employees, some of them from production lines and others from offices. Others have been compelled to cut pay rates, reduce the length of the working day in order to survive. Industrial and commercial firms have suspended or reduced dividend payments. Widows and orphans for whom these were sole sources of income are in a sad position.

Construction is at a standstill, apartment houses and hotels are emptying, realty transfers are stagnant. Buying of non-essentials has stopped. Many essentials cannot be bought.

**HAWAII'S LIFELINE CUT**

One who has survived the blockade is a 50-year-old woman who has been begging for food and clothing since she was ordered to beg during the past two months, and are being deprived of their lives. The blockade has caused the death of many people in normal living. As full citizens of the United States, the people of Hawaii believe they are entitled to their country and to live in the same conditions that Bridges has imposed upon them by ordering 2,000 longshoremen to effect a total blockade at the territory.

Shipping is Hawaii's lifeline. The islands are industrial producers. They rely for most of their necessities of life on shipments from the Mainland. This lifeline has been cut.

The people of Hawaii are







# GOOD FAITH?!!

## An Open Letter to the Leaders of the ILWU

Sunday's Advertiser carried a large advertisement of yours entitled "Good Faith!"

May we ask "What have you leaders of the ILWU in San Francisco or on any of the Islands of the Territory ever done to give the public fair proof that you have the slightest conception of what the words 'Good Faith' mean?"

Is it the slow down and stop work meetings you have continuously arranged?

Is it your policy of less and less work for more and more pay?

Is it your tactics that have all but eliminated Coast-wise shipping—and a ghost town of the docks of San Francisco?

Is it your disregard for and countless violations of written contracts and arbitration decisions?

Is it the lying misrepresentation of facts you choose to put out whenever you are whipping your membership in closed meetings into line for a favorable strike vote?

Is it your policy of encouraging and fostering race prejudice, hatred and bitterness wherever and whenever possible?

Is it your policy of taking dishonest strikes' votes? (*Yes, we know you have filed a \$100,000 libel suit against us—and are really welcome an official chance to prove beyond doubt to the public of Hawaii, including your own Union members, that many of your plantation strike votes have been phony, crooked, unfair, un-American, dishonest and ration to the core.*)

Is it your policy of trying to make every laborer hate his boss?

Is it your policy of severe penalizing labor pees for more than a few months before pulling another strike?

Is it your policy of Bait the Employer, the plantations, the shipping companies?

Is it the closed, high pressure type of one-sided meetings you hold, discouraging by every known means the opportunity for any one to present the other side of the picture, or any viewpoint or policy different from what you consulting leaders have already decided upon?

Is it your unfair policy against anyone that opposes you and the dishonest, selfish, undemocratic methods you use to prevent your members from knowing the truth?

Is it your policy of intimidation and coercion of those who won't join your union, or refuse to strike?

Is it your policy of crucifying even the wives and innocent children of those who won't go along with you?

Is it your policy of calling judges dishonest and unfair if they do not rule in your favor?

Is it your policy of getting your way with fists and strong arm methods when other methods fail to convince your members and hold them in line?

*Who is trying to kid who?*

Your leadership is rotten. It is based on falsehoods. Your continuing as leaders is made possible only by fear.

Your leadership at last is crumbling—going to pieces and the day is coming soon when you are going to be gone as leaders just as certainly as you have worked out an Iron un-American grip on Hawaii that has brought want, suffering, privation, hostility and illness to thousands of innocent, honest, decent, law abiding citizens of Hawaii, including members of your union.

The truth is what is going to rid Hawaii of the plague you have brought to it.

The truth is what is going to rid Hawaii and your Union of you.

The only difference between Kohala Sugar Company and the rest of the plantations of Hawaii is that over there the majority of your members have learned for themselves how they have been lied to; how facts have been misrepresented and the truth ignored—just a little bit sooner than on the other plantations. But others are "learning"—/ant! On every island and in every post.

You can no more hide the truth or keep it from coming out eventually, than you can prevent the sun from coming up.

The truth is what has you on the slide right now, as more and more of your members each day, learn for themselves what a dirty deal you've given them; as they discover you are using them for your own purposes, without regard for their ultimate welfare; as they realize how little you care for working peace and harmony—and how you have misrepresented issues to them, as bait for their support to seek never ending pay increases.

GOOD FAITH? DON'T TRY TO KID THIS COMMUNITY BY USING CLEAN WORDS. THEY ARE STRANGERS TO YOU. GOOD FAITH is the last thing decent Americans will ever grant the quality of leadership you have given the ILWU in Hawaii.

For you to use the term, "Good Faith" is an insult to the intelligence of the people of Hawaii for you have proved by your own actions that is the last thing you understand—or tolerate.

The Honolulu Advertiser  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY

It is our hope that every union member will read this letter and think for themselves from their own experiences, of the incidents it covers, which they have seen and know about at first hand.



not sufficient to feed the people of this Territory. And there's no reason why insular areas cannot be put in a special category for very special purposes.

The thought has been expressed that that would derogate from our drive for statehood. Well, I don't think it does, any more than paying Federal workers out here a differential based on the higher cost of living has anything to do with statehood. It is a recognition that because of our insular, isolated position, there are special circumstances that must be treated other than the way we treat them on the mainland.

Senator WATKINS. Now that we have local support for amendments such as you suggest, will the people here say: "We think it might interfere with statehood and we don't want it done"?

Mr. STEPHENSON. No, I don't think it would be that great, but that would be one of the passing observations, that within the concept of the dedicated prostatehood advocate, he wants to have no discrimination, no differentiation between the laws of the United States applying to the State of Utah or the proposed State of Hawaii. We are going to be all equal. So that I don't think, when you actually brought it down to an issue, that there would be any opposition there to it.

Certainly, the ILWU would oppose it with great force. Industry's position is not known to me.

Now, the second thing, on the Taft-Hartley Act, I think something can be done about improving the so-called non-Communist affidavit, as I see it. The Government is presented with a very large task when you have a Communist union leader, like Ben Gold, whose statement I remember reading in the Daily Worker, who proclaimed his long membership in the party, he has been a member since 1919, or something like that, and now to help his union, he was going to resign from the Communist Party in order to make the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. "But," he said, "I still believe in all the things that the Communists believe in." You have got the problem of what is called tactical disaffiliation from the party. When it suits their purposes and it is required for some other purposes, they resign from the party.

Senator WATKINS. That's right in line with Communist policy over the years.

Mr. STEPHENSEN. Yes.

Senator WATKINS. If they are pushed at one area, they retreat a while and then come back. That's in the broad field of world strategy.

Mr. STEPHENSON. Now I say that if its relevant—

Senator JOHNSTON. To illustrate that point, we've had witnesses in other places come before the committee and they will tell you, they testify, and they hide behind the fifth amendment up until maybe day before yesterday, and then they say "No, I am not a Communist now." They will answer that way. But they refuse to answer maybe the day before that.

Senator WATKINS. I think that your suggestions that you have just made, all of them in fact, have merit. I personally will state to you now, and to the people here, that I intend to go into them very carefully, and if my preliminary impressions are finally confirmed by more mature consideration, I certainly intend personally to try to do something about it.

Mr. STEPHENSON. There is one more I think can be used to great advantage. And that is the taxation approach. We all know that

unions get exemption from taxation; their dues are not considered taxable income. But I think it is high time that some standards were set that would establish the qualification or nonqualification of a union to receive dues and to remain in a nontaxable status. In other words, if you have a union like the ILWU, that is using its funds, its dues collected from members, to disseminate Communist propaganda, to donate to Communist fronts on the mainland, to assist the defense of indicted Communists on the mainland, who aren't members of the ILWU even, and the manifold activities of an improper nature to which their funds are put, then I say it is not only wrong but it is immoral to allow them to continue. If they want that tax exemption, then they should be made to refrain from using those funds for subversive purposes. If they want to pay taxes as a corporation on their dues, they would have to double their dues in order to raise enough money after taxes to have the money they now spend, and that would put the issue squarely up to the men who are paying the bill.

Senator JOHNSTON. In other words, your statement amounts to this. You don't think the Government of the United States should furnish the money for them to carry on their Communist organizations?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's correct. It is just like the postal law, Senator. If we have a good American student up at the University of Hawaii who writes a treatise and he wants to send it to a publisher on the mainland, he pays first-class mail on that material, and there's no way to get around it. And yet we allow Communist propaganda to be distributed through the mails, carried at a much cheaper rate. It is just one of those paradoxes that we haven't gotten around to straightening out yet.

Senator JOHNSTON. Don't you think we should probably go a step further and take away from each individual worker his rights under the Labor Relations Act if he is a member of an organization that's Communist-controlled?

Mr. STEPHENSON. That's a good idea.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Stephenson, I would like to ask you about one thing that possibly bears on a recommendation.

The statute of limitations, most of our laws having to do with punishment of Communists, very often are of short duration, 3 to 5 years being short duration. This subcommittee has found, and I am going to ask you if you have found the same thing in this Territorial commission, that very often it takes about 3 to 5 years, certainly 2 to 5 years, to make an ex-Communist, that is, for somebody to become so emotionally disentangled from the Communist organization that he is able to see the situation clearly enough that he will talk to you frankly and candidly. Now, we've had witnesses say that when they first broke with the Communist Party they were stunned for a period, they were confused. After a year or so passes, they begin to talk to people who are not Communists, and then after the passage of a few more years they're able to come forward and talk to a body such as your Territorial commission or a committee such as the Internal Security Subcommittee. And therefore, for the first time, we're able to get first-hand evidence about Communist Party membership.

Now, because of the passage of time—it is so understandable, realizing we are all human beings—we find that the evidence, when we are first able to get it, is 3 or 4 years old. Therefore, if we are considering taking action, allowing the executive branch of the Government to

take action or a local prosecutor to take action, we find that, at a very minimum, our evidence is 3 or 4 years old. Now, operating against a short statute, the situation becomes pretty nearly hopeless.

Now, do you find that, when the Communists are breaking away from the organization, they go through some kind of a transition such as what I have just outlined to you, Mr. Stephenson?

Mr. STEPHENSON. Very definitely. I have worked with Communists and ex-Communists before and after the war, and I know a little bit about them. I am not thinking of the type of fellow who testified a few years ago here that he didn't know communism from beans. I am not speaking of 1 of our public officials 1 time here who said he didn't know communism from rheumatism. I am talking about the Communist who has been instructed in the principles of Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, and the practical application of those in whatever his mission in the community may be. The fellow who has become an accomplished Marxist has a difficult problem of unwinding his twisted mind and, for a long period of time, he will act, without consciously attempting to do so, he will react still as a Marxist. He has got to be purged psychologically.

So that the type of individual I am speaking of—call him an intellectual—is the fellow who is most likely to be able to aid you in a prosecution or discovery of the facts of the conspiracy, rather than the man far down on the wage scale, who is in the party just as a rank-and-filer paying some dues.

And my own experience, personal experience, with a number of well-dogmatised Communists has been that it takes them quite a few years.

I might add: A compounding factor in this community is that, if the Communist concerned leaves the Communist Party but still retains the position in the union, then he remains subject to a discipline, which makes it even more difficult for him to finally come around. In other words, we have had a situation out here where you have a parallel apparatus. You have had a Communist apparatus and you've had most of that apparatus paralleled in the structure of union organization. So that, if a man who is in both capacities leaves the Communist Party, for whatever cause, he might have been expelled or he might have stopped paying dues, or something else, but he still wants to work for the union, and the men running the union were his former superiors in the Communist Party, you can see he has to accept a certain amount of extracurricular discipline or he can't hold his job. So it is a very difficult problem. And, answering the question, I would be in favor of seeing these statutes of limitations lengthened. We have no statute of limitations on murder and there is none on treason.

Senator WATKINS. It is in the nature of treason and I think that we could extend them, we can go to a large degree in the extension of those statutes, without taking away any essential rights of the American people.

Mr. STEPHENSON. I agree.

Senator WATKINS. No innocent person would be actually hurt by adopting longer statutes of limitation.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr Chairman, in concluding, I would like to mention here that there are before the subcommittee several requests, in fact I think it runs almost to a score, of people who would like to come forward and testify. Now, what I've done, Senator, is try to select the people whose evidence and information not only is competent to the

present inquiry but within the scope of the inquiry, which can be supported by facts and information.

Now, Senator Eastland, before he left, said that we should keep the subject open; that as people come forward, as we can talk with them and discuss things with them, to get more evidence to have further hearings, that we should do so.

To date we have called in public testimony 30 witnesses. Twenty of those are people whom our evidence indicates have been Communists, when asked about that evidence they've claimed privilege under the fifth amendment. One of the witnesses subpoenaed, about whom we had evidence of Communist Party membership had a doctor's certificate and was excused. At least three others whom we had subpoenaed have come forward and testified fully and received the commendation of the committee, in executive session.

Now, we have also called in public testimony eight prominent citizens of the islands here, who have given us very valuable testimony. We have also the testimony of Mr. Fishman and the testimony of Mr. Mandel, our research director. Now, as I say, Senator, it is very difficult—some of the witnesses who have asked to testify have become importunate about it. There is one man comes to the office every day and says "When are you going to put me on?"

Now, Senators, I have done the best to screen it out, what I think is appropriate for the record. And as I say, if something develops, if somebody does produce evidence or information valuable to the inquiry, Senator Eastland has said we should by all means keep the record open for such testimony.

Senator WATKINS. May I make a suggestion? That those people who think they have information or statements that would aid, that they prepare those and send them to us in Washington and let us go over them, and if they are really helpful, and the committee so determines, they can be made a part of the record.

Senator JOHNSTON. That will be so ruled.

Senator WATKINS. But obviously, we couldn't stay here, because we have a lot of other duties, too, this is not the only committee we serve on, we serve on 3 or 4, so we can't hear everybody who wants to talk about this matter.

Mr. MORRIS. That's the problem, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. I would like to say further, along that line, it is impossible to hear everyone that may want to testify. We only can come here and hear enough witnesses to be convinced of a pattern of what is going on here in this island and your other islands. Then, as you further know, we are a legislative body, not a judicial body or an executive body. We can go back, after we have found the information, and pass whatever necessary laws we think should be passed in order to tighten up on the situation and help out in whatever problem, or try to wipe out a problem, that we might find. That is our duty as a committee.

We have had enough witnesses here, I think, to convince not only us but every person that has been here day in and day out, to reach a conclusion in regard to the matter, and to find out some of the troubles here on this island. I can assure you, as acting chairman, that it will be our endeavor when we go back to try to do something about the situation.

Now, then, in closing this hearing, I want to thank the Governor——  
 Senator WATKINS. Before you do close the hearing, may I make an observation?

Senator JOHNSTON. Yes, sir. I was just going to thank some people.

Senator WATKINS. I want to do that because I have got to leave; I have an appointment over there.

Senator JOHNSTON. You go ahead.

Senator WATKINS. And I have got a deadline.

I want to join with the chairman in the statement he just made. And I want to say that I think these hearings have been very productive; they have been well worth while, and no apologies whatsoever are due for the action of the committee in coming here and in the hearings as conducted.

I think all the people who will analyze this record, what has taken place here, will agree that—all fairminded people will agree that what we have done here has been well worth whatever it has cost to do, and I think it will be productive of some very helpful legislation and a better climate out here with respect to this conspiracy of the Communists.

I personally want to thank the people of the islands, those who have been connected with the hearing in any way, for the very courteous and very hospitable treatment I have received.

May I be excused now?

Senator JOHNSTON. Speaking for the whole committee, I wish to thank at this time Governor Samuel Wilder King for the assistance and aid that he has given the committee since we have been here; also Farrant L. Turner, secretary of your islands here, we wish to thank you; and the witness that is now on the witness stand, William B. Stephenson, chairman of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities, we wish to thank him for this information and the aid and assistance on the side that he has given us since we have been here; and also the executive director, Theodore Emanuel, for his assistance.

Now, I think the chief of police here, Dan Liu, is doing a wonderful job, and he has been very nice to each and every one of us, and especially me. I have been out with him on several occasions, and I think that you have a wonderful policeman here and he has done a wonderful job.

Then, too, Louis B. Blissard, United States attorney, we wish to thank him; he has been giving us on the side very useful assistance out here.

Mr. Thomas R. Clark, the United States marshal, and his whole staff has been working with us. So you see it is just not the subcommittee representatives who have been working, but we've had a lot of assistance and help.

We want to thank Chief Justice Rice, Justice Stainback, and Justice Marumoto for their assistance.

Then, also, the Armed Forces. We want to thank Adm. Felix B. Stump and the U. S. Navy and the officers and the men; they have been working diligently with us ever since we've been here.

Then, too, the people of your island. I've never been treated any better than I've been treated by the people of your island here. And you have a lovely island. This is the only island I've been on, I haven't had occasion to go over to the others, but I have enjoyed seeing the beauty of the island and the way that the people have treated us.

Then, also, the Department of Justice. We've had them here with us, too, I think, as observers, and I want to thank them for coming here and listening in. Mr. Warren L. Littman is with the Department of Justice and has been sitting in here listening to us and also helping and aiding us with a lot of records. We have a lot of records that a lot of people do not know anything about, Government records, and they give us some information on where to go and what to do occasionally.

So you can readily see that this committee will go back to Washington with a great deal of information concerning what is taking place on your lovely islands.

So my last thought is may God be with you and may we keep this island and the United States as clear as possible of communism and keep our American way of life. That's what I want and I'm satisfied that 99 percent of the people here on this island believe as I do, and it is only a small minority that is being misled by the communistic leaders.

I would like to also thank Mrs. Farrington. I couldn't forget her for she was my righthand lady at one of our dinners the other night. And another thing, she also has a son that married, I believe, a girl from South Carolina. I couldn't forget that. So we certainly appreciate all the courtesies that you have given this committee.

And the press and radio. We don't want to forget the press and radio for they disseminate the information throughout the islands and throughout the world, so to speak. You have done a wonderful job since we've been here and we wish to thank you for that wonderful editorial this morning, it was just great.

MR. MORRIS. Senator, I would like to commend with great particularity the press, the radio, and the television, and all those people who have cooperated, they have worked in a great way. And when I say that, I don't mean to say that everyone else hasn't either, because the Territorial commission and the Governor's staff, it has just been wonderful the cooperation we have received at staff level. And I would like to reemphasize everything that you've said.

(Prolonged applause.)

MR. MORRIS. Senator Johnston says "Aloha."

Senator JOHNSTON. The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p. m., December 6, 1956, the hearing was adjourned.)

(The following material was later ordered printed in the record at this point:)

MR. MANDEL. On December 3, 1956, Mr. Newton Kunio Miyagi, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 142 of the ILWU, testified in Executive session as follows:

MR. MORRIS. Has the ILWU any present direct or indirect relations with the World Federation of Trade Unions?

MR. MIYAGI. Same Answer. (Refusal on the basis of the fifth amendment.)

MR. MORRIS. Has the ILWU ever paid money or dues to the WFTU?

MR. MIYAGI. Same answer.

In an article entitled "Why the CIO Bowed Out" appearing in the Saturday Evening Post for June 11, 1949, James B. Carey, at that time Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, stated:

The CIO was under no illusions when, in February 1945, we took the momentous step of participating in organization of the World Federation of Trade

Unions. We knew that Soviet Russia and her satellites were in the WFTU \* \* \* Three years and 11 months later, the CIO and the British Trades Union Congress, disillusioned and doublecrossed, had to walk off the job. The Dutch democratic trade-union organization joined us at the time; Canada and Belgium have pulled out since \* \* \* The case history of why the Congress of Industrial Organizations quit the WFTU offers further proof that the Communists, despite their hypocritical propaganda, are incapable of working for world peace and for the welfare of the workingman. They cannot forget their obsession for a Communist-dominated world \* \* \* What is the future of the international labor movement, now that the WFTU, as far as leadership and control are concerned, is 100 percent Communist-controlled?

In a speech delivered on March 7, 1956, on the occasion of his receiving an honorary doctor of laws degree from Long Island University, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, referred to the—Kremlin-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions which we of world free labor consider the most dangerous spearhead of the international Communist conspiracy.

In an article appearing in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on March 17, 1947, reference is made to the arrival of Louis Saillant, Executive Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, at Honolulu en route to Tokyo. The article states he was met at the airport by Jack Hall, Robert McElrath, and others.

The report of the proceedings of the Second World Trade Union Congress, World Federation of Trade Unions, held June 29–July 9, 1949, at Milan, Italy, makes the following statement on page 370:

On July 15, at Marseille, we shall found the trade department of port workers and dockers; on that occasion we shall welcome the American dockers of the Pacific coast who, in spite of the pressure exercised upon them, at the time of the recent CIO Congress remain faithful to the WFTU.

The Dispatcher of August 5, 1949, official organ of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, states as follows:

MARSEILLE, FRANCE \* \* \* Representatives from the world's leading maritime countries met here July 15–18 and set up the new Seamen's, Docker's Inland Waterways and Allied Worker's Trade Unions International WFTU (Maritime Federation of the World) and elected ILWU president Harry Bridges to head the organization \* \* \* Louis Goldblatt, ILWU Secretary-Treasurer, battling for Bridges who was refused permission to leave the country by Attorney General Tom Clark, and John Maletta, Local 19, member of the International Executive Board, attended for the ILWU \* \* \* At the same time the maritime body condemned the action of Attorney General Clark in prohibiting Bridges from leaving the country to attend the conference \* \* \* Meetings of the conference which opened on July 15 were chaired in rotation by Eliot Elliott, Secretary of the Seamen's Union of Australia; D. Kleinsma, Chairman of the General Transport Union of Holland; M. de Stefano, General Secretary of the Italian Federation of Port Workers; A. Gruenais, General Secretary of the National Federation of Maritime Trade Unions of France; A. S. Budanov, President of the Central Committee of Trade Unions of Sea Transport of the USSR, and Goldblatt.

The Daily People's World of July 13, 1950, page 4, official West Coast organ of the Communist Party, USA, states:

PARIS, July 12 (ALN).—The World Federation of Trade Unions has appealed to all its members to organize popular demonstrations demanding the immediate withdrawal of American Armed Forces from Korea. . . . The WFTU calls on all affiliated organizations to take, as far as national conditions allow, all immediate and dispensable action to defeat the diabolical plans of the warmongers and to support their brother unionists in Korea who are fighting alongside the whole Korean people for the liberation of their country.

The Dispatcher of July 21, 1950, page 8, official organ of the ILWU, states:

Marseille, France—The Maritime Federation of the World, a trade department of the World Federation of Trade Unions, has been reorganized with a newly constituted executive board into the Maritime and Port Workers Trade Union International. ILWU President Harry Bridges has been named honorary president of the newly constituted department. A Dutch trade union leader heads the organization and M. Baudin of France is the general secretary. The department was originally established at a conference held in Marseille in July 1949.

The Longshore Bulletin for July 21, 1950, published by Local 10, ILWU, in San Francisco, published the following resolution which was adopted unanimously by the Walking Bosses of Local 91:

Whereas Local 91 of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union has endorsed the action as taken by President Truman and the United Nations in the present crisis in Korean and the Far East; and

Whereas Local 91 has pledged—without reservation, full support and co-operation in the supervision of the loading of any and all cargoes and ships regardless of destination; and

Whereas The World Federation of Trade Unions had issued orders to all of its affiliates and officers to do their utmost to sabotage and delay in all ways the program of the United States, and the United Nations in this struggle; and

Whereas The Maritime Federation of the World and its officers would be one of the main cogs in the machinery of sabotage and delay as called for by the World Federation of Trade Unions: therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That Local 91, of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, in meeting assembled this 17th day of July 1950, hereby goes on record demanding that Harry R. Bridges immediately resign, either his office as President of the Maritime Federation of the World, or his office as President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union: and be it further

*Resolved*, That the International Office of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union stand instructed to get behind the program of the President of the United States and the United Nations; and be it finally

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent to all ILWU locals with a request for adoption.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed)  
RALPH MALLIN.

The following statement appears in the Longshore Bulletin for July 28, 1950, published by Local 10, San Francisco:

After reading the minutes of the last membership meeting, the question was raised as to what would be voted upon at the coming referendum vote for delegates to the longshore caucus in Local 10.

President Sandin ruled that in addition to electing 10 delegates, the membership will vote on whether or not Bridges should resign as honorary President of the WFTU Maritime department. (The World Federation of Trade Unions on July 12, in Paris, ordered all affiliates to sabotage the American war effort in Korea.)

A motion was made by James Kearney that we also vote at the coming election on whether the membership is in favor of dropping our fraternal affiliation with the WFTU. After considerable discussion, it was decided to refer the question to the coming caucus for a coastwise vote.

The Dispatcher of August 11, 1950, page 3, quotes the following statement of Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU:

The position of our union should be understood \* \* \* (the ILWU is a maritime union and when our members are) on strike they will take help from any source, and if it is a question of communist or others, in Australia, Great Britain, Russia, France, or anywhere else in the world, when we send out a call for help, we don't say, "Just accept this call if you are not a Communist union," we send it out and we hope for the best. That is true of my membership and that is the way we work, and that is all we are after \* \* \*

Our concern with the WFTU is a very simple one \* \* \* As far as I am concerned, and again this is my personal viewpoint—it is what I feel and it is what my experience has taught me—the union on the waterfront won't live without the support of the unions affiliated to the WFTU; that is, union longshoremen in other countries \* \* \*

In the issue of World Trade Union Movement for January 16–31, 1952, published in Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, Rumanian, Russian, and Spanish, appears an article by John Wolfard praising the ILWU in comparison with the Internal Longshoremen's Association (AFL).

The Dispatcher of September 1, 1950, page 5, official organ of the ILWU, states:

North Bend, Oreg.—The longshore ships clerks and walking boss division of the ILWU has severed connections with the Maritime Federation of the World and the World Federation of Trade Unions \* \* \*. The resolution adopted by the caucus was submitted by local 13 of San Pedro. As amended from the floor and adopted the resolution said:

"Whereas the World Federation of Trade Unions issued an appeal on July 5, 1950, and its Trade Department, the Maritime Federation of the World, on July 11, 1950, issued a directive calling upon their friends and affiliates to pass resolutions, petitions, demonstrate, and take all possible action to defeat the United States and the United Nations action in Korea; and

"Whereas the technical matter of affiliation or nonaffiliation has not been acted upon by the membership, but in the eyes of American labor, and the Government and public we are associated with and therefore affiliated with the WFTU and the MFW: Therefore be it.

*Resolved*, That, we sever our connections with the WFTU and MFW."

In the World Trade Union Movement for August 1954, official organ of the WFTU, beginning on page 25, is an article by Jack W. Hall, regional director in Hawaii of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, entitled "From Feudal Oppression to Human Dignity." A foreword to the article states:

This experience shows the correctness of the policy which has been formulated and followed by the ILWU for 20 years—which is also the policy which the WFTU has followed since its foundation.

In the World Trade Union Movement for September 1954, official organ of the WFTU, pages 24 and 25, appears a letter signed by Harry Bridges entitled "A Fifth Trial for Harry Bridges." A foreword says:

Even more powerful international solidarity must be the reply to the moving letter from Harry Bridges to the WFTU, which we publish below.

The letter makes the following statements:

The fact is that since the 1934 victorious west coast maritime and San Francisco general strikes, led by the longshoremen of the ILWU, there have been innumerable proceedings \* \* \*

There is no question that the present administration is keenly aware of the international implications of another "Bridges case." This perpetual harassment of a trade union and of its elected officials makes a mockery of the democratic claims being broadcast by the United States throughout the world today. And, not only are men and women of foreign lands made skeptical of United States claims to "democratic leadership of the world" as the result of this case, but similar disillusionment exists even within the United States itself \* \* \*

The jailings and deportations in the United States in 1954 differ little from the practices in Fascist and colonial countries \* \* \* This explains the almost psychotic alarm with which United States officialdom greeted the news that 21 soldiers, former prisoners of war in Korea, had decided not to return to the United States \* \* \*

\* \* \* We have no doubt that the working people all over the world will better understand the true nature of the rulers of America today if they are permitted to hear the truth of the forthcoming proceedings.

The ILWU Story, published by the ILWU in December 1955, states on pages 86 and 87:

In 1919, the Seattle longshoremen, backed up by the Pacific coast district of the ILA and AFL State Federation of Labor in Washington, refused to handle arms for the Allied Expeditionary Forces fighting in Siberia. Consistent with their trade union policy of the autonomous right of union organizations to run their own affairs, the Seattle longshoremen pointed out that " \* \* \* the settlement of all Russia's affairs, including her form of government, should be left entirely to the Russian people themselves, without interference from any source." \* \* \*

Thus it was not surprising that when the newly formed World Federation of Trade Unions met in San Francisco, at the time of the founding session of the United Nations, the ILWU was recognized as the host union for the affair—and deservedly so.

In the first major postwar maritime struggle, that of the committee for maritime unity in 1946, these international fraternal bonds paid off well. When President Truman threatened to smash the projected maritime strike with Navy-manned vessels and Army longshoremen, the call for help from the ILWU produced a worldwide wave of union support. Pledges that these scab cargoes and hot ships would rot overseas poured into the CMU. And the great gains of the successful negotiations, without a strike, followed soon after. The support from overseas was the turning point in convincing the employers that they'd lose a strike.

The ILWU sugar workers too have cemented their ties with sugar workers everywhere. And delegates have gone from the ILWU to the Philippines, to Mexico, to Puerto Rico and to Cuba to plan joint action and to pool knowledge and information on how best to advance the interests of sugar workers everywhere. Similarly, sugar union representatives from these areas have journeyed to San Francisco to meet and coordinate activities with the ILWU.

The Dispatcher for August 3, 1956, page 3, carries a photograph captioned:

On San Francisco Visit—ILWU President Harry Bridges and Amado V. Hernandez, Filipino labor leader, are shown here when Hernandez visited ILWU in 1948 on his way to an international labor conference. The Philippine leader is free on bail, pending appeal of his life sentence under a native version of the Smith Act.

The article says that—

He (Hernandez) spent 14 months in prison before being brought to trial with 10 other labor leaders for the alleged crime of "conspiring to overthrow the Government." The other labor leaders got 10-year sentences.

The executive board of the CIO appointed a committee to investigate the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in 1949 and this committee made the following finding:<sup>1</sup>

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE BOARD COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT MURRAY TO INVESTIGATE CHARGES AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

On November 5, 1949, William Steinberg, president of the American Radio Association and a member of the CIO executive board, charged that the policies and activities of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program or the policies of the Communist Party rather than the objectives set forth in the constitution of the CIO. The charges were received by the executive board of the CIO, and it authorized President Murray to appoint a committee of executive-board members to conduct hearings on the charges and to report back to the board. President Murray designated O. A. Knight (chairman), James E. Fadling, and Joseph Fisher as a committee. Notice was duly given to ILWU of the filing of the charges and of the appointment of the committee. Thereafter Mr. Fadling advised President Murray that he would be unable to serve on the committee, and Mr. Murray appointed Jack Moran to serve on the committee in place

<sup>1</sup> Communist Domination of Certain Unions. Report of the Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, October 1, 1951.

of Mr. Fadling. On April 18, 1950, O. A. Knight, as chairman, notified ILWU that the hearings on the charges against it would be held in the board room at CIO headquarters and would begin on Wednesday, May 17, 1950, and continuing until Friday, May 19, at 6:30 p. m. President for ILWU at the hearings were Harry Bridges, president of ILWU; J. R. Robertson, vice president of ILWU; William Glazier, Washington legislative representative of the union, and several ILWU executive-board members and local union members.

The committee, as constituted of Mr. Knight, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Moran, held hearings beginning at 11 a. m. on Wednesday, May 17, 1950, and continuing until Friday, May 19, at 6:30 p. m. President for ILWU at the hearings were Harry Bridges, president of ILWU; J. R. Robertson, vice president of ILWU; William Glazier, Washington legislative representative of the union, and several ILWU executive-board members and local union members.

Mr. Steinberg, the charging party, made an introductory statement to the committee in which he gave the basis for his charges. He then called 4 witnesses. Everett Kassalow, associate director of research, CIO, presented detailed analyses of the policies of the Communist Party and of ILWU, supported by numerous documentary exhibits. Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union of America and a member of the CIO executive board, and Mr. Hedley Stone, secretary-treasurer of the National Maritime Union of America and a member of the CIO executive board, testified that Harry Bridges had attended meetings of functionaries of the Communist Party and of representatives of Communist-controlled CIO unions at which the party functionaries announced the policies which those present were to follow in their unions and in the CIO. George L. P. Weaver, assistant to the secretary-treasurer of CIO, testified as to statements and positions taken by Mr. Bridges in meetings of the CIO executive board.

ILWU was permitted to cross-examine at length all four of the witnesses, as well as Mr. Steinberg. ILWU then called 6 witnesses, in addition to Mr. Bridges, who testified as to the functioning of ILWU, its constitution, its economic role, and its manner of arriving at decisions. Mr. Steinberg was permitted to cross-examine the ILWU witnesses.

In addition, ILWU submitted a 66-page statement and numerous exhibits. At the close of the hearings ILWU requested and received from the committee permission to file a further statement, and ILWU has filed such a statement. The committee has carefully considered both the testimony and documentary material submitted at the hearings and the additional documentary material submitted by ILWU following the close of the hearing.

#### INTRODUCTION

##### *The Communist Party and its position in the labor movement*

1. The charge made by Mr. Steinberg is that the policy and activities of the ILWU are consistently directed to the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the constitution of the CIO. Before proceeding to a detailed consideration of that charge it will, the committee believes, be helpful to review generally the nature of the Communist Party and the history of its relations with the trade-union movement.

For many years following the Russian Revolution there was a great deal of confusion among liberals in the United States concerning the nature and functioning of the Soviet system, the world-wide Communist movement, and the Communist Parties of the various countries. The Russian Revolution, because it overthrew an autocratic, feudal society, initially created a favorable reaction among many Americans.

However, this initial favorable reaction soon became tempered by the realization that the Soviet regime was as harshly autocratic as its predecessor. For many of those who remained sympathetic with the Soviets, based upon the false hope that time would bring more democratic practices, the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939 marked a turning point. Doubts as to the nature of the Soviet system and of the Communist Party were, however, again somewhat quieted when in 1941 the German armies marched on the Soviet Union. The antipathy most Americans had for Hitler and his cohorts was crystallized into feelings of sympathy for the Russian people and admiration for their fight against the German armies. After the Japanese attack upon the United States on December 7, 1941, most of the questions in the minds of the American people concerning the nature of the Soviet state and the Communist Party were laid aside in the life-and-death struggle against Hitler and the Japanese. Russia was our ally.

Following the cessation of hostilities, however, the drive of the Soviet Union for world power was nakedly displayed, and the true nature of the Communist

Party and the Soviet state was more sharply revealed. Today not much confusion should exist as to the real, in contrast to the apparent, nature of the Soviet system and of the Communist Party of the United States.

2. From a movement which in 1917 purportedly set out to bring a new and better life to millions of people, there has emerged a monster, secret-police state which negates in every phase of its operation the principles for which it was ostensibly founded. Hand in hand with this abandonment of its own stated principles has gone unlimited application of the thesis that if the end to be achieved is a desirable one any means used in reaching that end are acceptable.

There exists in the world today a group of highly trained, dedicated, and fanatical professional revolutionists whose code of morals and standard of values have nothing in common with the codes and standards of western civilization. To the Communist, a lie is the truth if it serves the purpose of the party. To the Communist, murder and robbery are dignified and hallowed acts if performed in the name of the ultimate revolution. Subterfuge and evasion are praiseworthy if they promote the ends of the party. American Communists, like their counterparts throughout the world, accept on faith the thesis that the Party itself can do no wrong. Hence it is impossible for these people unquestioningly to accept sharp changes in policy as being not only necessary but completely natural.

Side by side with this subversion of moral principle, there has developed a political concept upon which depends the strategy of the Communist Parties of the various countries. That political concept is that the preservation of the present regime in the Soviet Union is the basic all-important task for Communists throughout the world. Only within this context can the nature of the American Communist be understood.

3. Since the political thesis of the Communist Party depends to a large extent upon the seizure of power by the proletariat led by its alleged vanguard, the party, control of the trade-union movement has always been a primary objective of the Communists. From its inception in the United States attempts have been made by the party to infiltrate the labor movement, gain control of its leadership, and direct the energies of the unions toward assisting the objective of the Communist Party to preserve the power of the present ruling group in the Soviet Union. Communists have sometimes been able to gain control of American unions either by organizing in those areas where organization was sorely needed or by utilizing apathy and indifference on the part of union members to gain control of existing unions.

Once the Communists gain control of a union, the union inevitably becomes nothing more than a robot-like instrument of the world-wide Communist movement, with the true economic and social interests of the workers in the union sacrificed to the interests of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Thus, when it serves the needs of the Soviet Union for American workers to be out on strike, the Communist-controlled unions attempt to provoke strikes, to lengthen such legitimate strikes as may be taking place, and generally to disrupt the productive system. When the foreign policy needs of the Soviet Union require a high degree of productivity by American workers, the Communist unions attempt to fulfill the need for uninterrupted production by opposing all strikes, establishing speed-up committees, and foregoing any economic gains which might require strike action in order to be achieved.

The techniques used by the Communist Party in achieving control of a union and in then using the union for its purposes vary according to the nature of the industry, the tradition of the union, and the degree to which the union can be subjected to rigid control. As these factors change from time to time, the operation of the party group within the union (i. e. the "party fraction") changes to meet the new situation. Although the party fraction functions in a highly mechanical fashion on the theoretical level, accepting without question the line handed down from above, its tactical maneuvering may shift from day to day and even from meeting to meeting depending upon the particular needs of the moment. Thus, the operation of the party fraction within one union may be completely different from that within another union. In all cases, however, the party fraction in the union acts as a disciplined group and takes the orders of the day from the party functionary assigned to or responsible for trade-union work.

4. What we do about Communists in the labor movement is a question which has plagued and beset American unions. On the one hand, because American Labor has been in the forefront of the fight for civil liberties it has been extremely loath to restrict the liberties of any group operating within the framework of the unions. On the other hand, the labor movement has learned that

unless it adequately protects its unions a small Communist group can gain control and subvert the basic policy of the union.

Political uniformity within the labor movement, as in the rest of our society is a highly undesirable and retrogressive concept. Political differences are essential to the development of any democratic society. It is, however, equally essential to the functioning of the democratic system that political differences be openly aired and discussed. People cannot choose intelligently unless they know what they are really choosing.

No group or individual has the right to come into the labor movement with a specific political purpose and then to hide its purpose by deception, evasion, lying, and subterfuge in order to mask its true objective. Since that is precisely the method of operation of the Communist Party, the CIO has a right to exclude the servants of the Soviet Union.

Moreover, there is no room in the CIO, or in any other voluntary association of independent members, for an affiliate whose policies over a period of time contravene and tend to undermine the fundamental objectives of the organization. And there can be no doubt about the violent clash between the constitutional objectives and policies of the CIO and the program or purposes of the Communist Party. The CIO is dedicated to advancing the cause of liberty and the never-ending struggle for equality begun by our forefathers; to the end of achieving a world of free men and women. The CIO is dedicated to organizing the unorganized, to making workers participants in the collective-bargaining process, and to securing legislation insuring economic security and the extension of civil liberties.

The Communist Party, in contrast, seeks to exploit the workers for the benefit of an alien loyalty. The Communist Party speaks in the words of unionism and Americanism. But actually it matters not to the Communist Party whether a particular policy will advance or hinder the best interests of American labor. Only to the extent that the Soviet line permits will the propaganda mill of the Communist Party grind out platforms which are in consonance with the ideals of American labor. In event of conflict between the needs of the Soviet Union and the best interests of American labor, the former must always prevail.

Within the CIO there is the greatest freedom for differences of opinion on political and trade union matters, so long as those differences stem from an honest belief as to what constitutes good trade union policy or the best method of promoting the objectives set forth in the CIO constitution. But there is no room for differences of opinion when those differences reflect a fundamental divergence in basic objectives such as the divergence between the CIO and the Communist Party. A voluntary association created to promote certain objectives is fully entitled to exclude from its midst those who rejected such objectives and accept an entirely contrary set of values.

That is, in essence, the charge which has been made against the ILWU. It is charged that the policies and activities of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, under the international union's present top leadership, are not designed to unite the working men and women of America into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection but to unite them for the purpose of advancing the interests of the Communist Party.

#### FINDINGS

The testimony, both oral and documentary, at the hearing demonstrates incontrovertibly, and the committee finds, that the policies and activities of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, under the leadership of its international officers and executive board, have long been and are today directed toward the achievement of the program and the policies of the Communist Party rather than the objectives set forth in the constitution of the CIO.

The ILWU has consistently and without a single deviation followed the sharp turns and swerves of the Communist Party line and has sacrificed the economic and social interests of its membership to that line. The defense presented by Harry Bridges and his fellow officers was an evasion of the real issue involved in the trial; they objected on hypertechnical grounds to the introduction of all relevant evidence; introduced extraneous and irrelevant evidence; made unsupported and slanderous attacks upon the witnesses; and generally evidenced a hysterically evasive attitude toward the charges and toward the trial committee.

### 1. Policies of the Communist Party

Since the charge against the ILWU is that it pursues the program and the purposes of the Communist Party, the committee was required to scrutinize the policies of that party. The policies of the Communist Party in the United States, from the time of the formation of the CIO to the present, can be divided into five different periods, each corresponding to a particular phase in the international relations of the Soviet Union.

*Collective security and the popular front.*—The first period extended from 1935, shortly after Hitler's acquisition of power, until the signing of the Russo-German Pact in August, 1939.

When Hitler came into power, the Soviet leaders at first expected his immediate collapse. It soon became evident, however, that this expectation was doomed to disappointment. The Soviet Union thereupon devised a new defensive tactic, by which it hoped to contain Hitler. This tactic was the "Peoples' Front policy," announced in 1935 at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

Since the Soviet Union was menaced by the Fascist powers, Germany, Italy, and Japan, it wanted the help of the western powers and sought to persuade them to enter with it into a system of "collective security" against aggression. To advance the adoption of such a system of collective security, the Communist Parties in the various countries sought to promote a "peoples' front" or "popular front" with other groups which, for whatever reasons, supported a program of collective security against the aggression of the Fascist nations.

During this period the Communist Party of the United States supported a policy of collective security and urged that the United States enter into such a system with the Soviet Union. The Communist Party hailed Roosevelt's Chicago speech urging that the aggressors be quarantined. It urged the boycott of German, Japanese, and Italian goods. It favored changing the Neutrality Act to permit the shipment of arms to victims of Fascist attack. In line with the popular front strategy, the party was friendly to the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

During this period the American Communist Party found that the interest of American labor lay in the elimination of fascism wherever it was found. The party declared that American labor had a stake in the maintenance of free institutions throughout the world, and that it should support a program for the creation of a system of collective security against Fascist aggression and of aid to the victims of such aggression.

*The Russian-German pact.*—In August 1939, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union abruptly changed. At the very time it purported to be seeking the alliance of England and France against Hitler, the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact with him. Hitler was freed to attack Poland, and World War II began.

This change of Soviet strategy immediately brought about a violent change in the program of the Communist Party of the United States. The American Communist Party lost interest in the evils of nazism and fascism. The threat to American labor, the party now said, was the "imperialist war." The defense program of the United States was a program fostered by Wall Street. The party sought, through the mechanism of such movements as the American Peace Mobilization and such slogans as "The Yanks Are Not Coming," to capitalize upon the isolationist-pacifist sentiment in the United States and to defeat every measure intended to aid the powers that were opposing Hitler.

*All-out aid to Russia.*—On July 22, 1941, Germany attacked the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union needed help. It was, however unwillingly, fighting on the same side as Great Britain.

A second rapid reversal in the policies of the American Communist Party now took place. The party called for all-out aid to the Soviet Union and to Great Britain. The "imperialist war" was now a "people's war." Roosevelt's program, so lately denounced as warmongering, now became "the people's program of struggle for the defeat of Hitlerism."

The Communist Party rediscovered that labor had a stake in the defeat of fascism throughout the world, and declared that it should direct its energies to all-out production to defeat Hitler. Once more the party denounced the evils of nazism and fascism. Hitler was again a Fascist mad dog.

When the United States entered the war in December 1941, no change in Communist Party policy was needed. The Communist Party's Pearl Harbor had already occurred on June 22, 1941, and the party had favored United States entrance into the war since that time. But the party continued to grind its ax.

The United States and Russia did not see eye to eye on military strategy. The Russians wanted the immediate opening of a second front. And so the Communist Party decided that American labor had an interest in this question of military strategy. "It is imperative," Eugene Dennis declared early in 1942, "that the labor movement unitedly should make its voice heard and its influence felt on \* \* \* such life and death questions as insuring American participation in the opening of a second front in Europe this spring."

*Tehran.*—The second-front issue was a symptom of the lack of confidence which the Communist Party felt, during this period, in the genuineness of American-Russian collaboration. These doubts, however, vanished when President Roosevelt met with Premier Stalin at Tehran, and agreement was reached on certain of the problems confronting the two countries. This agreement seemed to the Communist Party leadership to herald a complete change in the relationship between America and the Soviet Union, and therefore, in the party's role in the United States.

There was thus ushered in the period later designated in the party as "Browderism." The party's program of "socialism" was abandoned in favor of the new "progressive" coalition between labor and capital. Henceforth the party's function was not to be "revolutionary" but merely "educational." The Communist Party, accordingly, dissolved itself in January 1944, and the Communist Political Association came into being in its stead.

Earl Browder announced that if J. P. Morgan would join in support of the American-Soviet coalition, he would clasp his hand and join with him. The party declared that there was only one yardstick against which all trade-union activities were to be measured, and that was the winning of the war. The party exhausted its superlatives in praise of the wise and courageous leadership of President Roosevelt—the same leadership which it had denounced during the period of Russia's pact with Hitler. The party even advocated national service legislation, a measure anathema to labor. The party supported most vigorously the no-strike pledge, and urged that it be continued in the postwar period.

In short, during this period the Communist Party was—as it later described itself in an orgy of "Marxist self-criticism"—an opportunist tail to the capitalist class.

*The postwar period.*—With the close of the European War, differences and tensions began to develop between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union no longer needed American military assistance, and its ambitions began to conflict at many points with the policies of the United States.

Accordingly, the "American" Communist Party again reversed its field. Taking its lead from an article by the French Communist leader Duclos, it reconstituted itself in June 1945, as the Communist Party and once again asserted its so-called aggressive role in domestic affairs. It no longer supported national-service legislation and stopped talking about continuation of the no-strike pledge after the end of the war.

As the diplomatic conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union has developed and deepened in the postwar period, the hostility of the Communist Party to the policies of the American Government has become clearer and clearer. The postwar Communist policies have included the following specific items:

1. Demand for the withdrawal of American troops from China, and support of the Chinese Communists;
2. A claim that the United States had failed to live up to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, and a demand that United States foreign policy be based on friendship with the Soviet Union;
3. Opposition to the Truman doctrine;
4. Opposition to the Marshall plan;
5. Support of Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party in 1948;
6. Opposition to the Atlantic Pact;
7. Support of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade-Unions and opposition to the CIO- and AFL-sponsored International Confederation of Free Trade-Unions;
8. Denunciation of the CIO as a tool of reaction and imperialism; and
9. Support for the UE in its fight with the CIO.

## II. Policies of the ILWU

By examining the publications of ILWU, the reports of its officers to its conventions and its convention proceedings, and the positions taken by ILWU representatives at CIO conventions and executive-board meetings, the committee has ascertained the policies which ILWU, through its international leadership, has,

over the years, followed. The committee has compared these policies with the program of the Communist Party of the United States. From this examination the committee finds that the policies and activities of ILWU have followed and continue to follow exactly, without deviation, the policies of the Communist Party. Each of the four major shifts in policy made by the Communist Party during the period since 1938 was faithfully followed by ILWU. At no time during that 12-year period has there been one single instance of ILWU's deviating in any appreciable degree from the line of the Communist Party.

1. During the collective-security or "popular front" period ILWU strongly supported Roosevelt's antiaggression program. In 1938, at its first convention, ILWU called for support of the O'Connell bill, which would have amended the Neutrality Act to define aggressor nations and to permit the shipment of arms to victims of aggression. The 1938 convention also called for a ban on shipments of helium to Germany and pledged full and unqualified support of President Roosevelt's New Deal. Resolutions adopted at the convention condemned isolationism and endorsed a world labor conference as a means of arresting the world-wide Fascist offensive.

As late as June 1939, ILWU locals submitted and supported resolutions at the convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific which called for support of President Roosevelt and the New Deal and commended the President's foreign policy of stopping the Fascist nations. District conventions of ILWU adopted resolutions to amend the Neutrality Act and to boycott German-, Italian-, and Japanese-made goods, and requesting closer collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union "for the protection of their mutual interests against any provocation within the Rome-Berlin-Tokio Axis."

2. With the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the ILWU suddenly discovered that the war in Europe was of no concern to it. It attacked President Roosevelt and his policy of giving aid to the allies.

In April 1940, Harry Bridges in his report to the ILWU District 1 convention, stated:

"It is generally recognized that the present administration's policies in regard to the international situation, its pro-allies sympathizers, the endorsement of millions of dollars being sent abroad while millions of Americans suffer unemployment and poverty, can result in the embroiling of America into a foreign war in which she can have no concern except the protection of the investments of the large bankers and industrial interests of the country."

The District 1 convention endorsed the slogan "The Yanks are not coming."

The 1940 convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific adopted a resolution submitted by ILWU denouncing the war profiteers who "have attempted to create a war scare" and demanding that Congress cease "playing chess with the lives of Americans by encouraging loans to warring nations." Newspapers published by ILWU locals carried headlines such as "Convoys mean shooting, shooting means war," and news stories on the activities of the American Peace Mobilization, a front set up by the Communists to promote isolationism. In his report to ILWU's April 1941 convention, Harry Bridges attacked the idea that labor should make sacrifices "in the interests of so-called 'national defense.'" Throughout this period, which ended with the attack upon Russia by Hitler, the ILWU consistently urged a policy of isolation, and criticized aid to the countries fighting Hitler.

3. Following the opening of hostilities between Germany and Russia in June 1941, the ILWU leadership suddenly discovered that the war in Europe was, after all, a matter of vital concern to the labor movement. Harry Bridges called for immediate aid to the Soviet Union and to Britain. In July 1941, Bridges declared that American labor, in backing aid to Britain and the Soviet Union, was "taking a militant anti-Fascist position in support of the people's right to freedom and peace." In contrast to "Convoys mean shooting, and shooting means war," Bridges, in October 1941, in an article in an ILWU local paper, stated:

"The American trade-unions have a real decision to face and make today. We are on the verge of having to start making motions or passing resolutions as to whether we shall not only support the President in an actual declaration of war to stop Hitler but as to whether we will insist that such declaration be made. Whether we like it or not, it is pretty hard to dodge this conclusion, because already Hitler is not only telling us but he is driving home the fact that American ships can't sail to certain places; therefore certain American seamen can't man and sail these ships; therefore, our American longshoremen can't load such ships; and, therefore, our warehouse workers in turn are not able to work at their particular industry handling goods to go to ships eventually."

In the same article, Bridges declared that "the greatest real threat to all our unions and democracy today, is that Hitler might win the present war on the eastern front."

When Japan attacked the United States, no radical change in ILWU policy was necessary; the change had been made when Germany attacked Russia. ILWU was all out in its support of the war effort. The officers' report to the 1943 convention declared:

"The basic policy of the ILWU centered around national unity of all the win-the-war forces in America \* \* \* This policy meant the subservience of many of our individual interests of our Nation. The union could not remain an economic agency and do its job \* \* \*

"Steps were taken to convert the union into a win-the-war agency, this \* \* \* meant unity with any and all people who were pledged to faithfully prosecute the war \* \* \*

"No longer do we think of employers as a group. Our judgment of employers is predicated on their participation in the war. The same judgment governs our measurement of all other people and agencies."

In actuality, ILWU, like other Communist-line labor unions, went much further in abandoning its economic aims and in its attacks upon any interruption of production than did legitimate American trade-unions. John L. Lewis was described in the 1943 ILWU officers' report as "the single most effective agent of the Fascist powers within the ranks of labor." Wages, hours, and working condition, according to this same report "had to be measured in terms of maintaining efficiency and morale of our members and providing a free flow of war production."

During this period, ILWU, like the Communist Party, called for the opening of the second front. ILWU lauded the Soviet Union and the Russian army in every possible way, and when Senator Lodge suggested that the Soviet Union should supply bases for bombing Japan, ILWU's paper, *The Dispatcher*, indignantly rejected this suggestion.

4. After the Teheran conference in December 1943, ILWU, like the Communist Party, was fully satisfied as to the good intentions of the American Government toward the Soviet Union. After Teheran ILWU called no more for a second front. ILWU was now satisfied with the Roosevelt administration. It supported Roosevelt for reelection in 1944. ILWU even, in January 1944, endorsed a proposed National Service Act, although such a measure would have destroyed labor's most basic freedoms, and was opposed by the CIO and the AFL. *The Dispatcher*, supporting the measure editorially, declared that "The right of the people to be secure against the enemy certainly transcends any fancied individual rights."

In the summer of 1944 Bridges and the ILWU executive board urged that the no-strike pledge be extended into peacetime. Such an extension, Bridges declared, "would defend the security of the Nation now and after the war." *The Dispatcher* likewise supported editorially the extension of the no-strike pledge beyond the end of the war.

5. With the end of the war in Europe and the collapse of the wartime collaboration between the Soviet Union and the democratic nations, the position of the ILWU, like that of the Communist Party, underwent another change. Britain was no longer a gallant ally; Bridges opposed an American loan to the "so-called Socialist" Government which would use the money against Russia. Bridges declared that "the so-called British Labor Government has made it crystal clear that it has no real intention of freeing the slave peoples now held captive by the Empire." The Soviet Union, in contrast, was represented as a country which "exploits no colonies of its own and seeks to exploit none" and "is naturally in favor of freedom and independence for all peoples."

The no-strike pledge was forgotten; "Strike time is here," the May 1946 *Dispatcher* declared.

When the Truman plan for Greece and Turkey was announced in the spring of 1947, it was bitterly attacked by the *Dispatcher* in a front-page editorial which compared it with the "international gangsterism of Hitler." The editorial described Russia as "the great Socialist nation" while the Greek and Turkish Governments were described as "cruel dictatorships" and the British Empire as the "British slave empire." The editorial further asserted that—"Their cry against Russia is precisely because Russia insists that the peoples of all countries have the right to organize unions and choose their own forms of government."

At the 1947 ILWU convention Bridges made a speech during which he declared, "If the Communists of China are wrong, so were the people in this coun-

try who overthrew the British in the American Revolution." In the same speech he protested against equating communism and fascism.

Shortly after the Truman plan was announced, the Dispatcher commenced to play up Henry Wallace. Its news account in May 1947 of Wallace's European tour asseerted that the tour "to warn against the new Truman doctrine in foreign policy" was a "thrilling success." Its account of a west coast speech of Wallace stated that—"Wallace spoke out in ringing terms against this doctrine which seeks to fasten the yoke of American imperialism on the world, the crippling of American trade-unions and the suppression of civil liberties."

When the Marshall plan was enunciated, it too was condemned by the ILWU. In December 1947 ILWU's executive board denounced the Marshall plan "as nothing more than a monstrous plot against freedom and living standards." The ILWU executive board declared that the Soviet Union, in contrast, was—"supporting coalition governments of nations which are pledged to programs whereby the common people of foreign countries obtain greater ownership and control of raw materials and protection for the greater good of the majority of the peoples of those countries."

The Dispatcher declared editorially that money would be spent under the Marshall plan in order to impose "Wall Street puppet dictatorships" upon the European countries.

When the CIO executive board, in January 1948, announced its support of the Marshall plan and its opposition to a third party, Bridges declared that "ILWU would stand by its determination to give all-out support to the third-party movement and would continue to oppose the Marshall plan." Bridges' cohorts on the ILWU executive board joined with him in opposing the Marshall plan and in supporting Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party.

Like Soviet Russia and the Communist Party, ILWU has demanded that the United States end stockpiling of the atomic bomb without calling for international inspection of the Soviet's production of atomic weapons.

ILWU has also opposed the North Atlantic alliance. At its 1949 convention ILWU declared that while the North Atlantic alliance was ostensibly for the purpose of protecting Western European nations against threatened aggression from Russia, it would permit the United States to move into the signatory countries.

The Communist coup in Czechoslovakia was applauded by ILWU. To the ILWU this destruction of a democracy was merely the ousting of "reactionaries."

When the Russians established their blockade of Berlin, ILWU supported Russia. It said that all Russia wanted was for the United States to abide by the Potsdam agreement.

When the CIO and the British TUC withdrew from the World Federation of Trade-Unions because of its subservience to Soviet interests, ILWU sided with WFTU. ILWU Secretary-Treasurer Louis Goldblatt called the CIO withdrawal a "sell-out of American workers." Goldblatt was ILWU's delegate to the WFTU Conference at Marseilles in July 1949 at which WFTU established a "Maritime Federation of the World" with Harry Bridges at its head.

When the CIO, the AFL, and the TUC called the London conference to form a new international trade-union federation, ILWU declared that the conference smelled of the Fascist labor fronts, that Red baiting was the conference's only concern, and that the bona fide labor movements of most countries were not represented at the London conference but at the World Federation Trade-Union Conference in Peiping, which was going on simultaneously.

When in May of 1949 the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition blocked passage of the Thomas-Lesinski bill, ILWU, like the Daily Worker, declared that the administration, the CIO, and the AFL had sold out Taft-Hartley repeal. ILWU circulated to its membership a lengthy mimeographed release peddling this Communist Party lie. Confronted with this release of the hearing, Harry Bridges declared that it was a "complete out-and-out forgery." Presumably Bridges overlooked the fact that he had been confronted with the document at the CIO executive-board meeting in May 1949, and had at that time asserted that he took "full responsibility" for it.

The June 1949 Dispatcher hailed the "Chinese liberation," comparing it with the United States, French, and Soviet Revolutions. It declared that—"Like the American Revolution, it has won independence from foreign imperialism for a vast area of the earth. Like the Russian Revolution, it enlists one of the world's most numerous peoples in a constructive effort leading to socialism."

The Dispatcher viewed the Chinese Revolution as "creating a new force of unprecedented proportions and turning it to the satisfaction of human needs."

When the UE was expelled from the CIO at the Cleveland convention last November because of Communist domination, ILWU stood by the UE, not the CIO.

6. ILWU's publications reflect a sympathy not only with Marxism but with the particular Stalinist brand thereof, and even utilize the peculiar Stalinist terminology. Like the Daily Worker, ILWU's paper, The Dispatcher, uses the term "democratic" as synonymous with communism. To it a "people's democracy" of Eastern Europe is democratic, as are the Italian Communist Party and the Chinese Communists. The Dispatcher's strongest term of opprobrium is "Trotskyite."

The Dispatcher carries in each issue a column which appears under Harry Bridges' signature. In a November 1943 column, Bridges declared that Russia's position was that the people of liberated countries should choose their own forms of government. In December of 1943, he declared that "the men of the Russian Red Armies are loved and deeply respected by the people of that country and elsewhere. They have been welcomed with open arms and sympathetic understanding, and as deliverers and defenders of freedom and the people. The Red Army men have responded by being exemplary in conduct toward the people and their dearest possessions and community customs to the point where the civilian population and the armed forces unite, work, and fight as one."

When the U. S. S. R. went through the empty form of granting autonomous rights to its constituent republics, Harry Bridges hailed it as a momentous development. He declared:

"The vicious lie that both philosophies [i. e., communism and fascism] have the same basic antidemocratic totalitarian foundation was never more clearly exposed than by the willingness and the determination of the Soviet Union to allow each of its component republics full freedom to choose its way of life and granting full equality for all the people in such republics regardless of race, creed, or color."

When Bridges wished to criticize Ireland's role in the war he declared that it was simply another Finland.

Bridges devoted his column in the June 1944 Dispatcher to the same sort of attack upon "Trotskyites" which may be found regularly in the Daily Worker. He shrilled:

"Let the rank and file of the ILWU be on guard and take notice. The luxury of leaving these fifth columnists in the ranks of labor, especially in our local unions, go undetected and unexposed before the eyes of our thousands of patriotic and loyal hardworking members is something that we cannot afford."

The July 1944 issue of the Dispatcher went all-out to demonstrate just how fatuously doctrinaire Communists can be. It carried a cartoon labeling Dewey and Hoover as Trotskyites. Its editorial, after warning against the Hoover-Dewey machine, declared:

"The open agents of Hoover, such as the Lewises and the Hutchinsons, are not the real danger. It is the fifth column that will do the damage.

"Beware the Trotskyites and the Norman Thomas Socialists. They are your enemies."

7. Thus, ILWU has continued up to the present moment to hew rigidly to the line laid down for it by the Communist Party. Never has ILWU adopted any policy which in any way ran counter to the policies of the Communist Party or the the interests of the Soviet Union.

If the Communist Party program had been a consistent one, this absence of conflict might not be significant. But over a period of 12 years the Communist Party has taken almost every conceivable position on every issue of public importance in the United States. This vacillating course can easily be understood in the light of the advice offered by Lenin:

"To wage war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie \* \* \* while renouncing beforehand the use of maneuvering \* \* \* would not such renunciation be the height of folly? We might as well, when climbing a dangerous and hitherto unexplored mountain, refuse in advance to make the ascent in zigzags, or to turn back for a while, to give up the chosen direction in order to test another which may prove to be easier to negotiate."<sup>1</sup>

The absence of any conflict between the position of the party and the position of this union under the leadership of its international officers and board is, therefore, of great significance. The constant parallel between the position of the Communist Party and the position of the ILWU cannot possibly be ex-

<sup>1</sup> Leninism, by Joseph Stalin, p. 158.

plained as coincidence, or as the simultaneous but independent adoption of similar policies. For the policies of the Communist Party, as we have stated, have undergone repeated violent shifts, shifts which are explainable only on the basis of the party's subservience to the interests of the Soviet Union. And the policies of the ILWU have, in each instance, undergone the same sinister shift.

ILWU has never criticized Russia, nor has it ever taken the side of the United States in a dispute between the two countries.

### *III. Direct evidence of Communist control of ILWU*

The documentary evidence of the subservience of ILWU, through its top leadership, to the Communist Party was corroborated by the oral testimony of Mr. Quill and Mr. Stone, both of whom gave testimony showing direct Communist control of ILWU. Both testified that Harry Bridges had, over a period of years, participated in numerous secret meetings between Communist Party functionaries and officers of Communist-controlled unions in the CIO at which the party functionaries instructed the union officers as to the party line and as to the positions that they were to take in the CIO and in their unions. Needless to say, these meetings were concealed from the CIO and from the rank-and-file membership of the unions. Such meetings took place from the inception of the CIO, and continued, to Mr. Stone's knowledge, until 1945, and, to Mr. Quill's, until 1948, those being the dates of their respective breaks with the party. Such meetings took place contemporaneously with every CIO convention, and were often held at the time of CIO executive-board meetings. The party functionaries who participated in these meetings included Eugene Dennis, William Z. Foster, John Williamson, Roy Hudson, Robert Thompson, Jack Stachel, and William Schneiderman.

One such meeting of particular importance, to which Mr. Quill testified, took place in New York shortly after the CIO convention in Boston in October 1947, and was attended by Dennis, Williamson, and Robert Thompson and others for the party and by Bridges and other representatives of the controlled unions. Dennis announced that the Communist Party would back Wallace on a third-party ticket, and instructed the Communist-controlled unions to support him.

This meeting was followed by similar meetings preceding the 2-day CIO executive-board meeting in Washington in January 1948. At these meetings Williamson, speaker for the Communist Party, instructed Bridges and the other union representatives present to endeavor to have the CIO executive board support Wallace, and, if that were impossible to achieve, to at least block any CIO resolution opposing Wallace. The CIO executive board did, however, adopt a resolution condemning the third party after Harry Bridges had unsuccessfully sought to postpone the CIO's taking a position by proposing a referendum of the membership.

Mr. Quill further testified that when he refused to go along with the Communist Party on the Wallace candidacy, Bridges telephoned him in the spring of 1948 from the west coast urging him not to break with the party and proposing that he, Bridges, come East to heal or prevent the breach.

M. Hedley Stone, secretary-treasurer of the National Maritime Union, and himself a Communist from around 1935 to 1945, testified to Bridges' participation in numerous such meetings between Com- (line omitted from original print copy through apparent typographical error).

One such meeting as to which Mr. Stone testified took place in New York City, in 1937 or 1938, and was called by the party to discuss starting a longshore organizing campaign on the east coast. Roy Hudson was the Communist Party functionary present, and Harry Bridges was also present. Hudson chose Al Lannan, another Communist Party functionary, to head up the proposed organizing drive. Bridges, without revealing the Communist Party's role in the matter, persuaded John Lewis, then president of the CIO, to put up the money for the drive, and Lannan was placed in charge of it.

Stone testified that in 1939, during the CIO convention in San Francisco, he and Bridges attended a meeting of the Communist Party fraction in the CIO at which William Schneiderman, the party representative on the west coast, was present. Party policies and the manner in which they could be promoted within the CIO were discussed. Bridges acknowledged that such a meeting had taken place, but stated that he could not remember who was there.

In 1943 or 1944, according to Mr. Stone, he took Joe Curran to a CIO Communist Party fraction meeting held on a Sunday morning at the home of Saul Mills in Brooklyn. Curran was not aware in advance of the nature of the meeting and, when he discovered through a remark of John Santos that it was a Communist Party fraction meeting, Curran insisted on leaving and took Stone with

him. Bridges and others of the Communist Party fraction in the CIO were present at this meeting.

Just as Bridges later, in 1948, sought to make peace between Quill and the Communist Party, so in 1946 he sought, unsuccessfully, to make peace between Stone and the party. Stone testified that many meetings were held between the Communist Party fraction in the CIO and Communist Party functionaries from 1937 or 1938 onward. Such meetings took place at every CIO convention and usually at the time of CIO executive-board meetings. At these meetings the party functionaries explained the latest developments in the party and its current policies, and those present then discussed how the party policies could best be promoted in the CIO. They decided, for example, what resolutions should be brought into the resolutions committee by the fraction members, and assignments were made as to who was to talk on each particular subject. This was all done secretly and conspiratorially, and was concealed from the CIO; and Bridges' role was likewise concealed from his rank and file. Bridges, according to Stone, was present at all of these meetings, unless it was physically impossible for him to attend. When Bridges was not present at a meeting, a party member was designated to advise Bridges as to the line which was to be followed by the party fraction.

The question of whether Bridges is or was a member of the Communist Party is not, in the judgment of the committee, relevant to the purpose of the present inquiry. The committee is not concerned with anything more than whether the ILWU followed Communist Party policy. Quill and Stone testified, and the committee finds, that Bridges did participate in Communist Party fraction meetings and did receive at these meetings instructions from party representatives as to the line that was to be carried out, not only in the ILWU itself but also within CIO. The documentary evidence, almost all of it official ILWU material, further clearly proves that the efforts of the party to control the policies of ILWU were highly successful.

Mike Quill, in his testimony, also placed Bridges' Communist Party faction meetings during 1946 at the CIO convention at Atlantic City, although he did not place him on the floor of the convention. Quill also described a meeting with Bridges in New York on Tuesday of the following week; i. e., on November 26. Bridges did not appear publicly at the Atlantic City convention in 1946, and at the hearings denied being in Atlantic City at the time of the 1946 convention or in New York City the following week. In an attempt to prove that he was in San Francisco throughout the period in question, Bridges introduced, among other things, two letters dated, respectively, November 16 and November 21, and a contract dated November 17, all signed with what Bridges represented to be his signature. It is, however, obvious from even superficial examination that the signature on the letter of November 21 is not in the same handwriting as the signatures on the other documents.

In the view of the committee, it is not necessary to resolve the conflict in the testimony with regard to Bridges' presence at these particular meetings, since it was clearly established that Bridges did participate in numerous meetings with Communist Party functionaries at which he received instructions from the party as to the policies he was to pursue. It may be that Quill was confused as to when the conversations with Bridges which he described as taking place at these meetings actually took place. Since the conversations had no connection with the convention, they might well have occurred at some other time. It is, of course, extremely difficult precisely to place events which took place several years before. Bridges, for example, admitted to attending a meeting at Saul Mills' house, as testified to by Stone, but stated that he was unable to say in what year it took place.

Bridges did not deny participating in the other meetings referred to by Quill in his testimony, nor did he deny attendance at the meetings testified to by Stone. Instead, in his closing statement, Bridges merely asserted evasively that he attended meetings of all kinds of groups.

#### *IV. ILWU's defense*

ILWU's defense consisted largely of attacks upon the CIO and upon the committee, and of lies, evasions, and irrelevancies.

ILWU's representatives asserted that the committee was "biased," "rigged," and a "kangaroo court"; and that the "trial" was "phony." Harry Bridges' cries of "frame-up" fill pages of the record. He protested the use of photostats and charged repeatedly, and without the slightest basis, that various ILWU documents introduced against it "had been printed in the basement." As has been

noted, Bridges even screamed forgery with regard to a document for which he had taken full responsibility at a CIO executive board meeting only a year ago.

Following the lead given by the Daily Worker, ILWU insisted that its autonomy was being violated, and that it was being denied the independent status guaranteed it when it went into the CIO.

ILWU also stressed at great length the economic gains it had achieved for its members. Indeed, the oral testimony given for the ILWU consisted in the main of statements by members of its executive board that ILWU was a democratic union which had achieved great economic gains for the workers in its industry.

It is unquestionably true that, during those periods when the Communist Party line had required militancy, ILWU's leadership has been militant. ILWU's present chiefs came into the leadership of ILWU at a time when militancy was the order of the day for the Communist Party, and they are still trading on the reputation for militancy built up long ago.

It should not, however, be forgotten that when the Communist Party line has called for cooperation with employers, these same leaders of ILWU have used their positions to smother the militancy of the ILWU membership. It was Harry Bridges who supported a National Service Act and who, along with Earl Browder, urged that the no-strike pledge be continued after the war. Bridges now prefers, however, to forget this nonmilitant period of his history and trade on his reputation for militancy developed during periods when that was the Communist Party line.

Bridges also asserted as a defense to the charge that ILWU has followed the policies of the Communist Party, that ILWU's policies have reflected the will of its membership. The committee rejects this assertion. The committee members are fully acquainted with the devices employed by Communist minorities to impose their policies upon organizations. We reject any suggestion that American workers would knowingly permit their union to be used to further the ends of a foreign police state. The reaction of Harry Bridges' own local to Bridges' attempt to foist the Communist Party line upon it in the current Korean crisis demonstrates that when the lines are clearly drawn American workers are loyal to America, not to Russia.

The committee wishes to make it perfectly clear that its findings as to ILWU are based, as they must be, on the policies and activities of the union under the leadership of its present international officers and executive board. Those findings carry no implication that the individual members of the union are Communists or favorable to communism. To the contrary, the committee is persuaded that many of the members of ILWU have been taken in by the evasion and the subterfuge, the devices and the maneuvers, which the Communist-minded leaders of this union have used to maintain themselves in power, concealing all the while the fact that the union's policies and activities were not the real informed decision of the members but determined in accordance with the line of the Communist Party.

#### *V. International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America*

The members of this committee were also designated as a committee to hear charges against the International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America (IFAWA) identical with those against ILWU. A hearing was conducted and voluminous documentary evidence of IFAWA's adherence to the Communist Party line was introduced.

Since the close of the hearing on the charges against the IFAWA, however, that organization has been merged into ILWU. The members of the committee have therefore concluded that it is unnecessary for them to make any separate report on their investigation of the charges against IFAWA. They wish to state to the executive board, however, that in their judgment these charges were fully substantiated.

#### VI

Since the conclusion of the hearing there has come to the attention of the committee a "Statement of Policy on National CIO" adopted by the executive board of ILWU. This statement repeats all of the familiar canards about CIO invented by the Communist Party and peddled by the unions it controls. In addition the "statement" instructs the national officers of ILWU, "to initiate the calling of a national conference of those unions already expelled from CIO or about to be expelled, in order to make appropriate plans and to take all possible constructive steps toward such unions working collectively for their own mutual protection and advantage."

If any doubt had existed, and none did, that ILWU was a Communist-line, Communist-controlled organization, this "statement" would have removed the doubt. The ILWU leadership has made its own choice between the CIO and the Communist Party, and has chosen the Communist Party.

#### CONCLUSION

For the reasons stated, and on the basis of all the evidence presented to it, the committee unanimously concludes that the policies of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program and the purposes of the Communist Party rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the CIO constitution. The committee therefore recommends that the executive board exercise the powers granted to it by article VI, section 10 of the constitution, and, by virtue of those powers, that it revoke the certificate of affiliation heretofore granted to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and expel it from the CIO.

O. A. KNIGHT, *Chairman*.

JOSEPH FISHER.

JACK MORAN.



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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the names of an individual or an organization in this index.

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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### PART 41-A, APPENDIX I

1951 Report of the Commission on Subversive Activities  
of the Territory of Hawaii

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS**

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## SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Honolulu, T. H., December 6, 1956.*

At the hearing on December 6, 1956, at which Senator Olin D. Johnston presided, and where Senators Watkins, Welker, and Butler were also present, the reports of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities for the years 1951, 1953, 1954, and 1955 were ordered printed in connection with the hearing record.

They therefore appear, in the order of the years in which they were submitted, as appendixes I, II, and III to hearing, volume No. 41, of the subcommittee's series on Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States.



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# REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII, MARCH 1951

## INTRODUCTORY

The Commission on Subversive Activities of the Territory was created by Joint Resolution 5, Special Session Laws of Hawaii, 1949, which took effect upon approval by the Governor of Hawaii on October 26, 1949. The seven commissioners were appointed on December 2, 1949, and qualified for office soon thereafter. One appointee subsequently failed of confirmation and the vacancy thereby created has not been filled.

The purposes of the inquiry committed to this commission, and its powers and duties, are set forth in Joint Resolution 5.

In the summer of 1949 the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, commenced its investigation of communism in the Territory of Hawaii. By the time this commission was appointed, the congressional committee's preparatory work on the mainland had been completed and its agents were working in Hawaii. In the interest of not duplicating the work of the Washington investigators, the commission determined not to employ a full staff and commence its own investigation until the public hearings of the congressional committee in Honolulu were concluded.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities held public hearings in Honolulu, April 10 to 19, 1950. A total of 66 resident witnesses, from the four major islands of the Territory, were called or volunteered to testify. Of those subpoenaed, 39 refused to answer questions concerning their knowledge of or participation in Communist activities. This group, later to become known in Hawaii as the "Reluctant 39", was cited by Congress for contempt. All 39 then were indicted in the United States District Court for the District of Hawaii. On the basis of recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court and of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, the trial judge, who heard the cases without jury, directed the acquittal of all defendants.

Testimony taken before the congressional subcommittee at Honolulu in 1950 is reported in three printed volumes, Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii—Parts 1, 2 and 3. The full committee has published two studies as a result of the Hawaii investigation, Report on Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist Front, dated June 23, 1950, and Report on the Honolulu Record, dated October 1, 1950. \* \* \*

The Commission on Subversive Activities undertook its mission and has conducted its activities with the thought always in mind that it is dealing with the reputations, sensibilities and fortunes of every person who might come to its attention. It has proceeded with the awareness that it was constituted to find facts, not to act as a prosecutive arm of government. Its professional staff is composed entirely of persons with considerable previous experience in Federal agencies charged with the investigation of subversive activities. Every person employed in its office had, in earlier Federal employment, been given a security clearance to handle classified information.

In its factfinding work, this commission has been confronted with numerous difficulties which have limited its operations. The existence of the Smith Act, and the enactment in 1950 of the McCarran Act, have provided Communists and their fellow travelers with a means of thwarting the legal process of investigative authorities. The impunity with which 39 witnesses refused to answer questions of a congressional committee in Honolulu in April 1950, and their subsequent acquittal of contempt of Congress charges, gave heart to those who have reason to fear investigations of subversive activities. The simultaneous existence of another Territorial body conducting an inquiry in the same field reduced the

effectiveness of this commission. It reports with satisfaction, however, that in almost all instances it has enjoyed the wholehearted cooperation of Territorial and county agencies, officers and employees whom it has called upon to assist it. And, within the limits of their authority and policies, all agencies of the Federal Government with which the commission has dealt have rendered valuable assistance.

In the time allotted, this commission has not been able to make a complete investigation of every person, organization, or institution that might be of interest to the legislature. Primary attention has been given to persons in public employment, and particularly to teachers. This document should be considered as a survey report only. This commission has attempted to present the report in such a manner as to be most readily usable by the reader. The main report is in narrative form and contains only a minimum of detail about certain specific topics and organizations. Additional data is contained in the appendices to which reference is made in the narrative. Most of the appendices concerning organizations present only such information as has been obtained incidentally, as most of the topics of the appendices have not been made the subjects of specific investigations.

The mere mention of any person, organization or institution in this report is not meant to imply subversive activity on his or its part, unless this commission states a conclusion to that effect or unless the facts obviously so show. When the commission describes anyone as a "Communist" or as a "Communist Party member," it is meant that the particular person has been identified as such on evidence deemed sufficient by this commission, and that such person has not been shown by satisfactory evidence to have disassociated himself from the Communist movement.

This commission has tried diligently to minimize errors of every possible type in this report. Should any person, organization or institution deem itself aggrieved by any statement in this report, this commission will accord a prompt hearing on the matter.

#### CONCEPT OF "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES"

The legislative directive, Joint Resolution 5, specifies various types of subversive activities. These fall into three basic categories:

(1) Activities of persons who "seek to destroy by force, threats, or sabotage, liberties and freedom guaranteed by or provided for in the United States Constitution (Joint Res. 5, sec. 2 (a) (2)) ;

(2) Activities of persons who "advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the Territory by force or violence or other unlawful means" (Joint Res. 5, sec. 2 (a) (5)) ; and

(3) Activities of persons who "seek to subject the United States and the Territory to the domination of any foreign nation" (Joint Res. 5, sec. 2 (a) (3)).

Illustrative of the three general types of persons or groups of persons who have engaged in subversive activities in the United States are the following:

(1) The Ku Klux Klan, which has been classified by the Attorney General of the United States as having "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States";

(2) The Industrial Workers of the World, which has not operated in the interests of a foreign power, but has been classified by the Attorney General as an organization which "seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means"; and

(3) The Communist Party, U. S. A. (its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates), which operates in the interests of a foreign power and which has been classified by the Attorney General as an organization which "seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

In addition to the foregoing categories of organizations, the Attorney General's list includes "Fascist" and "totalitarian" groups, the former composed principally of prewar pro-Nazi Germany and pro-Fascist Italy societies, and the latter of prewar pro-Japan organizations. Since organizations of those types were active in furthering the interests of foreign nations against the United States, they are considered by this commission to have engaged in "subversive activities." This is mentioned only because this commission has sought information on all types of organizations listed by the United States Attorney Gen-

eral, even though the results of inquiry in that regard were negative, insofar as activities within the Territory of Hawaii are concerned.

This commission believes that every person, alone or in concert with others, is entitled to exercise his constitutional rights, even though such exercise may include the open advocacy of substituting for our present form of government one which each commissioner personally would abhor. The essence of the right to advocate a change in our form of government is that it shall be exercised in a constitutional manner, or, simply stated, by advocating amendment of the Constitution in the manner provided for therein. There is no constitutional right to change our present form of Government in any other manner.

Movements which seek to alter the form of American Government by unconstitutional or illegal means are to be abhorred, as are those which are designed to deprive any person of his rights guaranteed by law. Such movements which, in addition, are conducted in the interests of a foreign power—as is the Communist movement in the United States—are doubly to be condemned.

Pursuant to provisions of the McCarran Act, the United States Attorney General has filed with the Subversive Activities Control Board, in Washington, a petition, which, if upheld, will act to proscribe the Communist Party, U. S. A. That petition, setting forth facts determined by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is the finest summary on the subject of the Communist Party, its techniques and operations, and its relation to the U. S. S. R., that has come to the attention of this commission. It states the authoritative position of the Federal Government on the foremost subversive organization in this country. The petition is reproduced in full as appendix C to this report.

Additional background information of value concerning the Communist movement is contained in a report of the Maryland Commission on Subversive Activities, dated December 30, 1948.

## COMMUNISM

### GENERAL

In presenting its findings, the commission believes it necessary to make certain observations on its concept of "Communism" and related terms used in this report.

"Communism," as used herein, is the movement directed by the international Communist headquarters in Moscow (whether called the Communist International (Comintern) or the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties (Cominform) in furtherance of the imperialistic foreign policy and external military ambitions of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As such, it effects a calculated and subversive penetration of those nations whom Soviet Russia would control or weaken. It uses both legal and illegal means. It employs chiefly the citizens or subjects of foreign nations to work in their respective countries against their own nations. Nearly all of its activities are of a conspiratorial nature.

In the penetration of foreign countries, the Comintern and the cominform have operated chiefly through domestic Communist Parties which, however, do not always bear that name. In Canada, for example, the Labour-Progressive Party has been the party of Communists, while in the United States its counterpart is called the Communist Party. This commission has considered the proposition that the Communist Party is, in the United States, a lawful political party. That contention is rejected on the basis of abundant authority.

As used herein, the terms "Communism" and "communism" (the one capitalized and the other not) are not synonymous. "Communism" refers to the fifth-column operations directed or encouraged by Soviet Russia in other nations, while "communism" refers to the politico-economic or philosophical system advocated by Karl Marx and others of various schools of communist thought.

"Marxism," as used herein, connotes a system of theories and rules of action advocated by Karl Marx. It may be considered a species of "communism," but is not synonymous with "Communism." A "Marxist" is, therefore, one who holds substantially the views of Karl Marx.

Because of the affinity which Marxists almost invariably hold or develop for Soviet Russia, the commission has considered it necessary to include within the scope of its inquiry a study of Marxist "discussion groups" and Marxist publications in the Territory of Hawaii. That it would be unrealistic to neglect Marxist groups in any survey of Communist operations in a democratic county is forcibly illustrated by the findings of the Canadian Royal Commission.

A "Communist," so considered by this commission, is one who knowingly assists (or reasonably should know he is assisting) the furtherance of Communism, while a "communist" is a believer in the theory of "communism" (sometimes referred to as "pure" communism to distinguish it from fifth-column Communism).

The Communist may be of several types, and is not necessarily a member of the Communist Party. There are "open" and "secret" party members. "Secret" members are those whose identities are known to a very few persons within the Communist apparatus. A "secret comrade" may be known only to national or district Communist Party headquarters, and not be known to the party organization of the region where he lives or works. So-called open Communist Party members are also of several types, one being the person who has publicly proclaimed himself as a member (such as William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; William Schneiderman, chairman of district 13 of the party; and Charles K. Fujimoto, chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii), and another being the person whose "open" status is known within local party circles but who has never publicly identified himself as a member (such as Dr. John E. Reinecke, Jack Denichi Kimoto, Dwight James Freeman, and other local Communists hereinafter mentioned). Furthermore, there are persons who consciously adhere to and support Communism without formally joining the Communist Party. This Commission considers such persons to be "Communists" if they function as such, regardless of their lack of formal membership in the party. In fact, it is reported, in recent years the Communist Party, as a security measure, has not permitted certain "secret comrades" to join the party. It would be unrealistic to exclude such persons from the category of "Communists."

The commission believes that the Communist Party of the United States of America functions primarily and ultimately in the interests of the U. S. S. R. and, in so doing, is subversive of American constitutional government, national and local. Its subdivision in the Territory of Hawaii, the Communist Party of Hawaii, is, likewise, subversive.

From the standpoint of susceptibility to Communist penetration, the Territory of Hawaii occupies a position somewhat different from that of most portions of the United States. Being what tourists have come to know as the "Crossroads of the Pacific," Hawaii is vulnerable to infusion of Communist influences from two continents. This is true, not only because of Hawaii's geographical position, but also because languages of the Orient, as well as English, are spoken in Hawaii.

#### THE PERIOD 1917-37

Although it has sometimes been stated that the Communist Party operated in Hawaii in early 1925, when Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, United States Army enlisted men, were court-martialed at Schofield Barracks, Oahu, on charges growing out of what appeared to be organized Communist activity, no formal groups affiliated with the international Communist movement existed in Hawaii at that time. Nor did the Crouch-Trumbull discussion group make a lasting mark on the Hawaiian scene.

In his book, *Out of the Night*, published in 1941 under the pen name of "Jan Valtin," Richard J. H. Krebs, reports his several visits to the Hawaiian Islands about 1925. Then a travelling maritime Communist, Krebs visited, according to his account, the ports of Honolulu and Hilo. In his book, Krebs reports his contacts with Communist Party groups and agents in many ports of the world, but he mentions no such contacts in Hawaii. However, he does report having met several Communist sympathizers here, and relates his personal distribution of Communist literature in the islands. He writes, also, of his report to Comintern headquarters in Moscow on recommended Communist action in Hawaii. The inference to be drawn from Krebs' account is that no formal Communist Party organization existed in Hawaii in 1925.

In the 1920's Marxism made its appearance in a small group of the alien Japanese working class in Hawaii. The newspaper, *Yoen Jiho* (Garden News), labor weekly in the Japanese language, commenced publication on the island of Kauai in 1922. Among its editors, managers, and contributors have been a number of Marxists and Communists, including Jack Denichi Kimoto, Communist Party leader mentioned later in this report, and Ginjiro "Hokusan" Arashiro, alien Japanese who has been identified with Marxist and pro-Communist activities for many years. Both recently served as editors of *Hawaii Star*, Communist-line weekly published in Honolulu.

About 1929 or 1930, a small core of pro-U. S. S. R. Marxists became evident on the island of Maui. Two groups of persons of Japanese ancestry, Maui Doshi Kai and its youth section, Maui Doshi Seinen Kai, came into being. That these organizations were engaged in Marxist activity is deduced from their publication, hereinafter discussed. It will be noted in annex 2 that their Marxist discussion groups met at many places on Maui. About the same time, there was formed in Honolulu a group of alien and citizen Japanese residents who called themselves the Yuai Kai (Friendship Society). A small core of its leaders were Marxists, but general membership participation was of a social nature. Branches of Yuai Kai appear to have existed on the four main islands, but only the activities of the groups on Oahu and Maui were of consequence. On Maui the leaders of Maui Doshi Kai were referred to as "the Yuai Kai group," but membership of the two organizations was not identical.

For several years in the early 1930's a group of young men, most of whom had recently returned from Japan, held Marxist discussions in their servants' quarters at the MacDonald Hotel in Honolulu. Their group had no formal membership requirements, by-laws or dues. They detested the militarists who then controlled Japan. This group published Haguruma (translated "Gear" or "Cog-Wheel"), hereinafter mentioned. About 1934-37, after publication of Haguruma had ceased, the MacDonald Hotel group attracted to its informal discussions several non-Japanese persons, chief among whom were a University of Hawaii instructor, a few university students and trade-unionists of the Honolulu waterfront and of the merchant marine.

In the year 1931 publication of the weekly Japanese newspaper, Shin Jidai (New Era), was commenced on Maui. Its first editor was Ginjiro "Hokusan" Arashiro, previously mentioned. The Maui Doshi Kai, of which Arashiro was a leading member, backed the publication. Writing in Shin Jidai, Arashiro adversely criticized Japan's action in the Manchurian incident, as a result of which he was removed as editor. In 1932 he commenced publication of Hibana (Spark), Marxist periodical.

Communist Party and Marxist literature, printed in the Japanese language, was disseminated in the Hawaiian Islands in the early 1930's. Such literature was printed locally as well as introduced from abroad. Among local Marxist publications were Arashiro's Hibana, just mentioned, which first appeared in 1932; Toso (Strife), published by Maui Doshi Seinen Kai about 1933-34, and "Haguruma," organ of the MacDonald Hotel group. From Japan and the continental United States, local Marxists received other tracts, chiefly translations into Japanese of formal works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, et al. During this period a Japanese bookstore in Honolulu stocked imported Marxist literature.

In many respects, Japan's several overseas communities of which that in Hawaii was one of the most important—mirrored conditions in the homeland in the early 1930's. At that time, Hawaii's 140,000 persons of Japanese extraction included some admirers of the militarists, as well as those who could be classed as antimilitarists. Important issues in Japan usually were discussed by the Japanese people in Hawaii, with consequent division of opinion. Thus, the 1928-31 fusion in Japan of Communists, Marxists, liberals, et al., under the banner of antimilitarism found its counterpart in Hawaii. And, since politics makes strange bedfellows, many of the antimilitarist Japanese in Hawaii found themselves influenced by the persuasive ideas of Marxists among them. It is in the light of these facts that the character of Marxist activity among the Japanese people in Hawaii during the early 1930's must be judged. At the same time, it cannot be overlooked that the activities and writings of these Marxists were strongly anticapitalist and pro-U. S. S. R. As regards topics which concerned the United States or the Soviet Union, or both, these Marxists took a pro-U. S. S. R. position and were neither pro- nor anti-United States. Also, these observations should be made: that a small number of these Marxists of the early 1930's have continued to be active in Communist Party and pro-Communist causes down to the present writing, but the majority of them have long since ceased to exhibit any pro-U. S. S. R. tendencies.

Of the local Marxist publications mentioned, this commission has examined and obtained translations of some issues of Hibana and Toso. Copies of Haguruma have not been located, but its Marxist content has been admitted and explained by two of its contributors. Hibana (Spark), whose red cover was embellished with a hammer and sickle, admittedly derived its name from Lenin Iskra (also translated Spark). Toso, whose name Strife was meant to suggest class struggle, proclaimed its love for Soviet Russia, not only in its

Japanese section but also in its English pages. And Haguruma, whose Cog-Wheel name symbolizes the "industrial worker" (the essential proletarian), reportedly presented a strong Marxist viewpoint, but it was criticized by other Marxists for leftwing infantilism. Because Toso and Hibana were much more openly pro-U. S. S. R. and Marxist than even the literature issued by the Communist Party of Hawaii in later years selected translations from those two publications are submitted herewith in annexes 2 and 3.

About the time that the MacDonald Hotel group (publishers of Haguruma) was going out of existence, because of lack of interest and results, and after the Marxist activity among Maui's Japanese population largely had subsided the first appearances of the present-day Communist Party of Hawaii (a subdivision of District 13 of the Communist Party of the United States of America) were seen in Hawaii. The primary target for proselytizing by the Communist Party of the United States of America lay in the longshore workers of Hawaii's two main waterfronts at Honolulu and Hilo.

For some years, radical merchant seamen (Communist Party travelers and members of the subversive International Workers of the World) had visited Hawaii. Krebs, alias Jan Valtin, was one of the early Communist visitors. In the plans of either the IWW or the Communist Party, it was inevitable that the recruitment of members in Hawaii soon would be undertaken. This became the task of the Communists of the mid-1930's, whose ranks by then included many militant ex-IWW members.

After his successes in the 1934 and 1936 maritime strikes, it evidently became the assigned task of Harry Renton Bridges to develop the interests of the Communist Party in Hawaii. There is no reason to believe that Bridges then knew that some Marxist sentiment already existed among resident Japanese intellectuals and agricultural workers. Being then, as now, a militant waterfront labor leader, his infiltration of Hawaii for the Communist Party of the United States of America was, therefore, directed first at the waterfront working class, of whatever race they might be.

It is reliably reported that as of 1936, there were slightly more than 60 Communist Party members among the waterfront and maritime workers in Hawaii. Most of these, however, were nonresident seamen whose membership in the Communist Party was acquired on the mainland. They visited Hawaii periodically and could indulge in proselytization of local longshore workers.

The period 1935-37 was one of travail on the Honolulu waterfront as far as attempts at unionization of longshore workers was concerned. Several labor leaders sought to control the longshoremen. Disputants for union leadership competed for the help of Harry Bridges, who had the power to grant a local longshoremen's union charter. The period was not favorable to the best development of Communist Party operations on the Honolulu waterfront.

However, at Hilo, on the island of Hawaii, the waterfront workers were almost completely unionized by 1936 and were, therefore, ready to receive a charter from Bridges. The leader of the Hilo longshoremen at that time was Harry Lehua Kamoku, who has been identified as one of Hawaii's Communist Party leaders.

In 1936 Kamoku organized what may have been the first cell of the Communist Party ever to exist in Hawaii. Composed entirely of Hilo waterfront workers, the Hilo cell was first known as the Travellers' Club. About the time that the Communist Party of Hawaii (a regional subdivision of District 13, CP-USA) was organized, the Travellers' Club changed its name to "Communist Party."

#### THE PERIOD 1937-41

The first traces of formal organization and activity of a Hawaii section of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CP-USA) are to be found in late 1937 or early 1938. It was then that Jack W. Hall reportedly started to live the dual role of an ILWU leader and a Communist Party organizer. The relationship of Bridges and Hall in this regard was the subject of testimony by Louis F. Budenz, former high Communist Party functionary, at Seattle, Wash., on January 27, 1948, before the Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities of the Washington Legislature. The following is reported at page 48 of the first report of that committee:

"Q. Professor, what relationship, if any, does Alaska and Hawaii play in the Communist program?

"A. Well, they are considered of great importance. The infiltration of Hawaii has been a rather important part of the Communist program. Well, I know that in 1939 this came up, because certain changes had to be made in the infiltration

process in Hawaii. This process was directed largely from California district, however, not from Washington, but the idea was to infiltrate Hawaii in every way possible among the teachers, among the workers there, who in my opinion sadly need organization, but it is a crime that this need for organization should be misrepresented by any Communist abuse of it. At any rate, the idea was both among the workers and among the teachers every place possible, to infiltrate Hawaii.

"Q. That was a definite plan of the Communist Party?

"A. It had been going on at least for a couple of years to my knowledge prior to about 1939, yes, that period, because I attended conferences where a change had to be made in the methods of infiltration.

"Q. What plans—how did they intend to do that—through what vehicle?

"A. Well, they intended to do that largely through the activities of Harry Bridges and the fact that he could send organizers into Hawaii who would actually be Communists, but under the guise of being unionists. One of these men was Jack Hall, and there were a number—there were several others.

"Q. Did the Communist Party use Harry Bridges?

"A. Most decidedly. He was charged—that is to say, the California district also had a responsibility, but he was charged with the infiltration of Hawaii.

"Q. Do you know Harry Renton Bridges?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. You are referring to the president of the International Longshore Workers Union?

"A. Nobody else; yes, sir.

"Q. Is he a member, or has he been a member of the Communist Party?

"A. He has been a member of the Communist Party, yes, sir. Under Communist discipline always up to the time I left the party.

"Q. And you participated in these conferences where the program was made that was forwarded to him to carry out?

"A. That's correct.

"Q. Did you ever get any reports as to whether he did carry it out or not?

"A. We had reports that Jack Hall was active for the party in Hawaii, and Mr. Hall, I understand, is the representative of Mr. Bridges. There were several other names mentioned also, their local names, and just for the moment I can't recall them.

"Q. In party circles, how did you know Harry Bridges—by what name?

"A. Well, we just called him Bridges as a rule in the Communist national headquarters. \* \* \*

Although Jack W. Hall often has stated publicly that he is not connected with the Communist Party and its activities in the Territory of Hawaii, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives names Hall as the leader of that movement.

During August 1937 Dr. John Ernest Reinecke returned to Honolulu after having completed his study for the doctor of philosophy degree at Yale University. Upon his return to Honolulu, Dr. Reinecke was employed as an instructor in anthropology at the University of Hawaii for the 1937-38 academic year, after which his contract was not renewed. In October 1937 Dr. Reinecke gathered about him a small group of self-styled "liberals" whom he organized into an organization known as the Honolulu Chapter of the Interprofessional Association. About a dozen of its members have since been identified as members of the Communist Party. A more detailed report on the IPA is contained in annex 5.

Early in 1938 Jack Denichi Kimoto returned to his home in Honolulu after reportedly gaining Communist Party experience in California. Prior to going to the mainland in 1931, Kimoto was well known as a Marxist in Hawaii. It has been said by a former Communist Party member who was in the party with Kimoto that William Schneiderman, present chairman of District 13, CP-USA, instructed Kimoto before his return to Hawaii. It was Kimoto who recruited Ichiro Izuka into the Communist Party on the island of Kauai in 1938. Eight years later Izuka was to leave the party and then publish his exposé, *The Truth About Communism in Hawaii*, a pamphlet naming Kimoto, Hall, Dr. Reinecke, and other leaders of the subversive organization that came to be known as the Communist Party of Hawaii.

While there is some reason to believe that Kauai may have been selected as a proving ground for Communist action in the Hawaiian Islands before the war, the direction of the party was, nevertheless, centered in Honolulu. The governing and controlling body of the Communist Party of Hawaii in 1939 was the

central committee (later called the executive board), which met in Honolulu where its members resided. The central committee then reportedly was composed of the following five persons:

Jack Kimoto (chairman)  
 Jack W. Hall  
 Jack H. Kawano  
 Dr. John E. Reinecke  
 Ah Quon Leong

Hall and Kawano were labor leaders; Kimoto, a journalist; Dr. Reinecke, a teacher; and Miss Leong, a recent graduate of the University of Hawaii. All were United States citizens.

During the prewar years Communists participated in organizing several associations in Honolulu. The largest and most effective of these was the Interprofessional Association, Honolulu Chapter, in the formation of which Dr. John E. Reinecke assisted in late 1937. The prewar organization of the same name which functioned in many parts of the United States has several times been denominated a Communist front by official bodies. The Honolulu chapter was chiefly a group of "intellectuals"—teachers, social workers, and other white-collar workers. Not only did this group follow the Communist line on matters seemingly unrelated to Soviet Russia and communism, but it supported the Communist position on issues involving the Communist Party or Russia. The great majority of adherents to the IPA were not (and have not since become) Communists.

In 1940 the IPA achieved disfavor in the community, at the same time finding itself with a decreasing membership. Its adherence to the Russian line prior to Germany's attacking the U. S. S. R.—manifested partly by its propaganda for peace and against involvement of the United States in the European war—continued despite the sharpest turns. Thus, after Germany attacked Russia in June 1941, the IPA did an about-face and pressed for all-out American aid to the enemies of Germany. In 1941 the IPA changed its name to the Honolulu Forum. The group known as the IPA and the Honolulu Forum was, in 1941, classified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a Communist organization.

Concurrently with the Interprofessional Association there existed in Honolulu another group, the American Friends of the Chinese People, whose mainland parent organization has been classified as a Communist front. All known members of the American Friends of the Chinese People in Hawaii also held membership in the IPA, and some of them were (or later became) formal members of the Communist Party. The national American Friends of the Chinese People organization was conceived to further the Russian line on China, that is, to support China in its struggle against Fascist Japan and to favor the Chinese Communists in their struggle against the government of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. (Additional information concerning the American Friends of the Chinese People is contained in annex 6.)

In 1941 the central committee of the Communist Party of Hawaii was still composed of five members. Only one change had occurred since 1939, that of Robert W. McElrath replacing Jack H. Kawano. McElrath's wife, nee Ah Quon Leong, remained. The group in 1941 reportedly was composed of—

Jack Denichi Kimoto  
 Jack W. Hall  
 Dr. John E. Reinecke  
 Ah Quon Leong McElrath  
 Robert W. McElrath

#### THE PERIOD 1941-45

Upon the outbreak of war with Japan on December 7, 1941, the Territory of Hawaii was placed under martial law, with consequent imposition of stringent security measures unfavorable to Communist Party operations and other subversive activities. Travel and curfew restrictions in the islands effectively minimized opportunities of holding Communist meetings in secrecy. Establishment of censorship over all means of communication between Hawaii and the mainland cut off the Communist Party of Hawaii from District 13, CP-USA, headquarters in San Francisco.

By order of the central committee of the local Communist Party, all local Communists were ordered to cease holding party meetings until further notice. Fear of searches by military authorities led Communists to destroy or secrete their party records and Communist literature, a notable example of which was the burial of Communist books and papers at Koko Head, Oahu. That the Com-

munists deemed it necessary to adopt such secretive measures—even at a time when the United States and Soviet Russia were active allies—is but further persuasive evidence of the illegal and conspiratorial nature of Communist Party activities and of the realization of that nature by party leaders.

Due to the sudden stroke of war, the Communist Party of Hawaii found itself confronted with three difficult tasks:

- (1) To maintain intact and functioning a nucleus of the party;
- (2) To reestablish regular communications with district 13, San Francisco; and
- (3) To keep alive the progressive interest of those non-Communists who before the war supported such causes as the Honolulu Chapter of the Inter-Professional Association.

During the period of the first 6 months of the war—roughly until after the American success at the Battle of Midway—organized party activities ceased to exist. Paradoxically, the conditions of war which had driven the local party underground, provided two perhaps unforeseen benefits:

- (1) The arrival in Hawaii of many Communists in the Armed Forces, among defense workers, and in the augmented merchant marine, many of whom could make contact with local party leaders and give new ideas and force to the local movement; and

- (2) The wartime period of amity between the United States and Soviet Russia, with resultant lessened awareness among public officials of the ultimate dangers of the Communist movement, was favorable to the infiltration of party members into the Government service.

Shortly after the Battle of Midway, leaders of the Communist movement in Honolulu reportedly brought into being a series of meetings at the homes of certain Communists and Communist sympathizers. These meetings, usually held in the daytime on Sundays or holidays, were planned as a means of bringing together the formal resident and visiting Communists and local progressives under conditions approximating the relationship of such persons in prewar front organizations. At the same time, these meetings—which were not formal Communist Party functions, but were a combination of socials and discussion groups—acted to maintain liaison on an outwardly innocent basis among prewar party members, at the same time keeping them cognizant of developments and changes in the Communist Party line. As such, they constituted a method of maintaining some semblance of unity among party members and prospective party members until such time as the executive board should see fit to order the party reactivated.

Since the wartime discussion meetings could be used as a cover for maintaining liaison among prewar Communists, as well as for the development of future party members and for keeping up the interest of Communist sympathizers in issues of interest to the party, attendance at the meetings was not confined to party members.

Another project sponsored and supported by Honolulu Communists during 1942 and 1943 was the collection of funds for Russian War Relief, Inc., from service personnel, civilian war workers, and local residents.

Communication of written and oral messages between Communist leaders in Hawaii and district 13, San Francisco, during the war had to be maintained through the medium of merchant seamen who acted as couriers. Such couriers usually made contact in Honolulu with one or the other of two leading Communists. Of particular interest among these visiting merchant marine personnel was Ralph Vernon Vossbrink, one who settled in Honolulu after the war and became a leading figure in the Communist Party of Hawaii. For several years after Vossbrink settled in Honolulu, his San Francisco employer used 3571 Pahoehoe Avenue (the residence of Dr. Reinecke) as Vossbrink's Honolulu address, although he lived elsewhere.

The wartime discussion groups previously mentioned continued until the Honolulu Labor Canteen (see Annex 7) was opened on August 5, 1945. Later meetings of the group, several of which might be held on the same day at different homes of Communists in Honolulu, appear to have been centrally planned, although the primary evidence necessary to establish the full picture rests with some of the so-called reluctant 39 whose constitutional right to refuse to incriminate themselves concerning their conspiratorial activities recently has been judicially recognized.

Another wartime activity of interest to the Honolulu Communist group was the Labor Political Action Committee (L-PAC), which was formed to promote the candidacies in the 1944 elections of persons favorable to labor. Several of

the leading workers and speakers of the L-PAC were Communists who had been active in the earlier discussion meetings of 1942-43. However, because organized labor was weak during the war and because the Communist Party of Hawaii was then underground, the L-PAC enjoyed little success.

Because America generally was not fully on guard during the war, so far as meeting the issue of communism is concerned, it was inevitable that Communists should work their way into positions of trust in the Federal and local governments. Such was the case in Hawaii. Jack W. Hall became a wages and hours inspector for the Territorial department of labor and industrial relations and later was appointed to the Police Commission of the City and County of Honolulu. Jack Denichi Kimoto was employed by the Office of War Information, despite the fact that this agency was in a position to learn officially of Kimoto's record of communism. Other Communists found positions in other Territorial departments, particularly in the department of public welfare, as well as in the sensitive Office of Postal Censorship (Federal). None of these persons, however, still retains a Federal or local government position in Hawaii.

The plan of local Communists to maintain a party nucleus intact during the war and, along with it, to continue the interest of non-Communist progressives, bore fruit in mid-1945 when the Honolulu Labor Canteen was established on Richards Street, opposite the Honolulu Post Office. Represented as a worthwhile civic venture, the proposal for establishment of the canteen drew support from capital and labor, from government officials and individual citizens. These diverse interests contributed the necessary financial support to launch the project, but few persons other than Communists thereafter showed much interest in shaping the policies of the canteen, which soon oriented itself along Communist lines. Not until the canteen's operations were in high gear was it exposed. Repercussions of this soon reached as far as the floor of Congress, helping to insure the demise of the canteen.

One of the movements carried on at the canteen was that of the Oahu Servicemen's Committee for Speedier Demobilization, composed of a group of members of the Armed Forces, many of whose leaders were also active in the canteen. (See annex 8.) Its purpose appears to have been to give effect, in Hawaii, to the international Communist plan to stir up agitation for speedy demobilization of the Armed Forces of all non-Communist powers. Internationally, the movement "to bring the boys home quickly" was conceived to disarm and weaken the potential enemies of the Soviet Union which, meanwhile, maintained its military forces at desired strength.

#### THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The Honolulu Labor Canteen did not close without assisting in the formation of other organizations of particular interest to the Communist Party of Hawaii, which was itself reactivated in late 1945. The Hawaii Association for Civic Unity, a group which was to be used for good by its many non-Communist members and for Communist purposes by an adroit Communist minority, was an outgrowth of the canteen. The Hawaii Youth for Democracy, University of Hawaii student organization, was closely linked with the canteen, if not planned there. The Honolulu chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a national organization of legitimate purpose, was encouraged in its activation by the canteen.

The Communist Party of the United States of America was formally reactivated in July, 1945. It adopted a new constitution and in all respects represented itself to be a new organization. The Communist Party of Hawaii was revived in the fall of 1945. The executive board of the party in Hawaii in the fall of 1946, reportedly was composed of the following persons:

Denichi "Jack" Kimoto, chairman  
 Dr. John E. Reinecke, treasurer  
 Mrs. Ah Quong R. McElrath, board member  
 Charles Fujimoto, board member  
 Eileen Fujimoto, board member  
 Jack H. Kawano, board member  
 Ralph Vossbrink, board member  
 David Hyun, board member  
 James Freeman, board member

The primary task confronting the Communist Party of Hawaii after the war was to build a formal structure of basic meeting units (locally referred to in most instances as groups or branches—the equivalents of cells or fractions). The activation of party units proceeded primarily along the lines of grouping mem-

bers according to their economic classifications; for example, laboring men were assigned to groups largely of their own, while professional persons and white-collar workers would compose other groups. Units were assigned names descriptive of the geographical region in which they met (for example, the Puunui group, which met in the Puunui section of Honolulu) or of the activity with which they were associated (for example, McCabe group, composed of longshoremen employed by McCabe, Hamilton & Renny, Ltd., Honolulu stevedoring firm).

Ichiro Izuka, who attained some prominence in the local Communist Party circles during 1938-46, published a booklet entitled, "The Truth About Communism in Hawaii" in late 1947. Part IV of that work, captioned "Reactivation of the Communist Party after World War II," covers well the subject at hand. Izuka has several times testified under oath concerning the matters contained in his booklet. On the witness stand he has greatly augmented his published story. He is considered to be a credible witness on matters concerning Communist Party organization. He has suffered much because of his efforts on behalf of the Nation.

During 1945-47 there existed at least 15 basic units of the Communist Party of Hawaii, called branches, 11 of which were located on the island of Oahu. Not all of these branches existed at the same time, due to several factors. One was that when a branch attained too large a membership, it was desirable (and conformable to traditional party security practice) to divide the basic meeting unit into two or more branches. Thus, the waterfront branch, which greatly increased its membership in 1946, was split into two groups. These were called the McCabe branch and the Castle & Cooke branch.

Cells of the Communist Party which are believed to have existed at one time or another during 1945-47 were referred to as:

- Castle & Cooke branch
- Hawaii branch (island of Hawaii)
- Kaimuki branch
- Kauai branch (island of Kauai)
- Lanai branch (island of Lanai)
- Makiki branch
- Manoa branch
- Maui branch (island of Maui)
- McCabe branch
- Miscellaneous branch (Honolulu)
- Moiliili branch
- Punchbowl branch
- Puunui branch
- Waikiki branch
- Waipahu branch

(All branches were in Honolulu unless otherwise noted.)

It is to be understood, however, that a branch might itself sometimes meet in separate sections. For example, the Hawaii branch, having most of its members among sugar workers and longshoremen, would have separate meetings at Olaa and Hilo. Party members who were connected with the sugar industry met at Olaa, while meetings of waterfront Communists were conducted at Hilo.

Coordination among branches on Oahu has been maintained through a centralized executive board, with each branch represented by one member on the executive board. The executive board, in turn, acting for the whole party in Hawaii, has maintained contact with branches and individual members on the islands other than Oahu. Communist Party procedures require that the local executive board maintain contact with district 13, San Francisco, for the purposes of receiving party instructions, transmitting reports, remitting dues collections, maintaining membership records, and the like.

A few local trade unions, being those whose national organizations have been expelled from the CIO because of Communist leadership or for following the Communist line, have, through the actions of some of their leaders, furthered the Communist cause in Hawaii in the postwar period. These unions are the—  
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)  
National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (MC and S)  
United Public Workers of America (UPWA)  
United Office and Professional Workers of America (UOPWA)

The MC and S is the subject of annex 18 of this report; the UPWA, of annex 20; and the UOPWA, of annex 21. The Federation of Architects, Engineers,

Chemists, and Technicians, which merged with the UOPWA after the war, is the subject of annex 22.

Communists serving as officers of some of these unions have used their union positions to aid subversive causes. In some instances, communism has been fostered by individual union leaders, in others by leaders acting in concert; in some cases, the activity has been sponsored by a single union, in others by several unions acting together. Among the ways in which one or more of these unions or their leaders have furthered the interests of the Communist Party in Hawaii since the end of World War II are:

- (1) Dissemination of openly identified Communist Party propaganda.
- (2) Support of disguised Communist propaganda through financial and other aid to local Communist-line publications.
- (3) Maintenance of a large volume of Communist-slanted radio propaganda.
- (4) Sponsoring the appearance in Hawaii of Paul Robeson, famous baritone and well-known Communist sympathizer.
- (5) Sponsoring the lecture tour of Hawaii by Celeste Strack, educational director of the Communist Party of California.
- (6) Assisting in the establishment and financial maintenance of the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States and by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives.
- (7) Sending union members to the Communist-front California Labor School.
- (8) Sponsoring rebroadcasts locally of commentaries by Sidney Roger, pro-Communist San Francisco radio figure.

Since the war, the largest measure of direction, control and financing of the Communist Party of Hawaii has lain with the Communist leaders of some of the expelled CIO unions. The spread of communism in Hawaii has, therefore, been roughly as far and as wide as that of the Communist-dominated unions. Where those unions have been strong (for example, on the waterfronts and in the cane-fields) the Communist Party has been strong, and where those unions have been weak (for example, on Federal reservations and in the educational institutions) the party has been weak. It is unfortunate that some trade unions in Hawaii have been subverted by Communists, for this commission believes that one of the firmest cornerstones of a strong and democratic America should be and is found in organized labor.

With the reactivation of full-scale Communist Party activities in 1945-46, the party seems to have determined to enter strongly into the field of politics—to indulge in so-called political action. Communists took a prominent part in the activities of the CIO Political Action Committee (CIO-PAC) in 1946. All but one of the CIO-PAC officers were members of the Communist Party. The CIO-PAC was designed primarily to work among and win the support of Hawaii's workingmen. It could not, however, expect to influence other classes of the electorate in the same degree. This suggested the desirability of employing other means to influence persons other than trade unionists. Chiefly due to the activities of Marshall L. McEuen, codirector of the CIO-PAC, there became active in Honolulu in August 1946, an organization later to be known as The Liberal Legislation League (at first tentatively called Citizens' Political Action Committee). While it formally voted to have no direct affiliation with the CIO-PAC, the LLL cooperated closely with CIO-PAC. Its purpose was to produce, from sources available to LLL members, information on social injustices and other causes which the CIO-PAC, with its wide membership and large financial resources, could exploit. (For details of the LLL, see annex 12.)

In 1946 there was formed by citizens in Honolulu a consumers' organization called the Honolulu Consumers Council. Because the council represented a type of organization that Communists have long attempted to turn to their own ends, it soon became an object of Communist infiltration. (See annex 14.) Except for the HCLC, perhaps no public group in Hawaii has had in its membership such a large number of Communists. It stands to the credit of the great majority of members of the council, however, that the infiltrators were never able to convert this organization into a "front" for the Communist Party. As of the present writing, the council remains in existence (having recently been reactivated) and is firmly in non-Communist hands.

In the late fall of 1946 the first Territorial convention of the Communist Party was held. Attended by about 100 party members, the convention of party leaders and more important members met in lengthy session on a Sunday at Kokokahi

Camp, Kaneohe, Oahu. Security measures had been taken in advance to avoid detection of the meeting. No attendant was allowed to take notes. In the organizational structure of the Communist Party of Hawaii, the Territorial convention (comparable to the State convention of the party in a State) is the highest body, next above the executive board. This commission has information as to only one meeting of the Territorial convention.

In connection with the stepped-up postwar Communist Party recruitment program, district 13 sent Dwight James Freeman to Honolulu in October 1946 to act as an organizer. He attended and spoke at Communist meetings on Oahu and elsewhere. He appeared at meetings in an unequivocal capacity, as a Communist official, whereas other local party leaders have many times appeared at meetings under such circumstances that they could later claim to have been acting in the capacity of a union leader or political actionist. Freeman has not been known, except in the case of the Communist-front HCLC, to have been prominent in any meeting other than those of the Communist Party. Soon after his arrival in Hawaii in 1946, Freeman appeared at a meeting at the home of Yasuki Arakaki at Olaa, Hawaii. Arakaki was and is an ILWU official and has been one of the top Communist Party members on the island of Hawaii. All persons present at the meeting were Communists, and all but Freeman were ILWU members. At the meeting, Freeman outlined plans for increasing party membership. Since he wished to recruit members from among the sugarworkers on Hawaii, it was necessary for him to work through Communists having access to the various plantations. It was evidently his plan to accomplish this through ILWU officials on the plantations. Freeman's purpose at the meeting at Arakaki's home was to "brief" those who were to assist him.

Since coming to Hawaii, Freeman has served on the executive board of the local Communist Party and was one of the 39 witnesses who claimed his privilege against self-incrimination when called to testify before a congressional committee in April 1950.

Traces of the Marxist groups of the early 1930's reappeared in 1946 with the establishment of Nichibei Minshu Kyokai (Japanese American Association for Democracy), hereinafter called the JAAD. Included in the membership of that organization were some persons who had been members of Marxist discussion groups in Honolulu and on the islands of Kauai and Maui many years before. Persons prominent in the JAAD were responsible for founding the Hawaii Star, a weekly newspaper which since its first publication in March 1947 has consistently followed the Communist Party line. Annex 23 contains a more detailed treatment of this periodical.

The editor of the Hawaii Star during much of its existence has been Jack Denichi Kimoto, Communist previously mentioned. He was active in Japanese Marxist groups in 1930 and earlier and, in 1938, after 7 years' residence in California, returned to Honolulu. Through his position as editor of the Hawaii Star and his affiliation with the JAAD, on the one hand, and his membership on the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii, Kimoto has constituted a possible link between some of the earlier Marxists and the formal Communist Party of Hawaii. That such connection exists is further evidenced by the fact that the nucleus of the JAAD chapter at Waipahu, Oahu, was composed of Communists.

In late November 1947, Hawaii's Communist Party leaders began to lay the groundwork for the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, an organization which was to become the largest and most effective Communist-front group ever to appear in the Territory of Hawaii. The occasion for the establishment of the HCLC was the suspension of Dr. and Mrs. John E. Reinecke, Honolulu public-school teachers, on charges growing out of their Communist Party activities. The Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, published a report of its investigation of the HCLC on June 23, 1950. The Committee's conclusion is quoted:

"The Committee on Un-American Activities is in unanimous agreement that the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee is a subversive organization initiated and operated by Communists for the sole purpose of expanding the influence of the small Communist minority in the Territory of Hawaii. This finding, which has been elaborated upon in the foregoing report, is the result of investigations conducted in the Territory by the members and staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities in October, November, and December 1949 and March and April 1950."

In view of the fact that at a prior date the Attorney General of the United States officially classified the HCLC as a Communist organization, and because

the Congress has caused the HCLC to be further exposed, this commission has not seen fit to expend any concentrated effort to develop further information. However, in the course of other work, this commission has discovered additional significant information fortifying the previous Federal evaluations of the HCLC as a subversive Communist organization.

It has been determined that the plans to bring the HCLC into existence were formulated in late November 1947 by the Oahu CIO Council. The two representatives of the Oahu CIO Council who were chosen to lay the groundwork for the HCLC were Ralph Vossbrink, representing the Marine Cooks and Stewards, and McEuen, former codirector of the 1946 CIO-PAC, who was then connected with the ILWU. The authorization of Vossbrink and McEuen to proceed with this project was embodied in a so-called off-the-record motion unanimously adopted by the council. As is often true in setting up Communist-front organizations, Vossbrink and McEuen attempted to induce a non-Communist of liberal tendencies and of good reputation in the community to head the new organization. This attempt failed, and the officers of the HCLC at all times were Communist Party members or others of definite Communist orientation.

It has also been determined that knowledge of the fact that Charles K. Fujimoto would publicly identify himself as chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii on October 15, 1948, was known in advance by HCLC leaders, in whose organization Fujimoto was an active member. (In annex 15, see letter which was sent to HCLC members under date of October 11, 1948.) The letter announced an HCLC dance to be held on October 15, the day on which Fujimoto made his announcement. As scheduled, Fujimoto was introduced at the social event and was termed, in effect, "the HCLC member of the year." This party was held at the ILWU pavilion at pier 11, Honolulu, adjoining ILWU headquarters.

Thanks to the widely publicized exposure of the HCLC in the congressional hearings held in Honolulu in April 1950, the HCLC boiled down to a hard core of identified Communists and Communist sympathizers.

In the latter part of 1950, the HCLC announced that by unanimous action of its membership it had changed its name to Hawaii Civil Rights Congress and had affiliated with the National Civil Rights Congress, a leading Communist-front group on the mainland. Stephen T. Murin, identified Communist Party member, continued as chairman of the organization.

This commission believes that the Hawaii Civil Rights Congress is but a continuation of the subversive Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee and that, by affiliating with the National Civil Rights Congress, the group has shown its true character as a Communist-front organization. (See annex 17 for further information concerning the HCRC.)

Early in 1949, when the number of unemployed persons in Hawaii was great, Communist Party leaders were among those responsible for the organization of a group called the Unemployed Workers' Organization of Hawaii. (See annex 18.)

#### THE PERIOD OF THE KOREAN WAR

Because of historic events in China and Korea during the past few years and of the Communist interest therein, the commission has attempted to determine whether any persons or groups in Hawaii are engaged in subversive activities in aid of the Korean or Chinese Communists. While it has been found that there are persons in Hawaii who are opposed to the Chiang Kai-shek regime, it has not been determined that these persons are in any way aiding the Communist movement in the Territory.

However, the situation as regards sympathy for the Korean Communists appears to be different. In Hawaii's Korean community there are two leading political factions, the pro-Syngman Ree group and the anti-Rhee group. There are appearances of pro-Communist activities within the anti-Rhee group. The Korean National Herald, with a circulation of about 450 copies, has criticized United States policy in Korea in its editorials and has opposed United Nations "intervention" in Korea. When this newspaper was editorially reprimanded by the Honolulu Advertiser, the Communist-line Honolulu Record came to its defense. The Korean National Herald and its editor are favorably mentioned in Our World, weekend feature section of the Communist Daily People's World, issue of February 2, 1951.

This commission has examined a copy of a magazine, New Korea, dated March 1950, bearing the imprint of a publisher at Canton, China. This magazine,

which was circulated in Honolulu, is anti-American, anti-Rhee, and pro-Communist. It features a full-page photograph of Kim Il-sung, Communist premier of North Korea, and extols the virtues of communism in North Korea and Russia. The following is quoted from the magazine :

#### "SOUTH KOREA IS A HELL

"The miserable conditions of the South Korean people under the puppet regime of Syngman Rhee is beyond description.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The Rhee's government consists of national traitors and gangsters. The ruling method of Syngman Rhee is murder and looting."

A photograph in New Korea is captioned: "The weeping survivors of murdered victims. The man standing in background is an American G. I. helping to murder the Korean people." The extent of local circulation of this magazine, and the identities of persons responsible therefor, have not yet been determined. Only the March 1950 issue has been found.

The Korean Independence, published in the English and Korean languages, by the Korean Independence News Co., Los Angeles, Calif., is also circulated in Hawaii. The January 31, 1951, issue of this publication, obtained by the Commission on Subversive Activities in Honolulu, manifests the Communist line on the Korean war. The first page of the English section has a banner headline, "How United States Provoked the Korean Civil War," while another headline across the second page reads, "How United States Engineered Plot for the Korean Civil War." Both pages of the English section are taken up with a single article, the content of which is anti-United States, anti-Rhee and pro-Communist Korea.

Since the outbreak of the Korean war, the Communist Party of Hawaii has curtailed almost all activity that would bring it to the attention of the public. During that period, the only openly identified Communist propaganda disseminated in Hawaii has been a handbill which is reproduced below :

#### "PREVENT WORLD WAR III

"Atomic war threatens the people of the world. President Truman increased that danger when he ordered military action against the peoples of Asia. His orders speeding our troops, bombers and warships against the Korean people can only lead to world disaster.

"The military provocation in Korea was planned as a smokescreen behind which to intervene against the struggle for independence of the peoples of Korea, China, Formosa, the Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia and Malaya. These people want the right to determine their own destiny. They have that right just as we had the same right to form into a nation during the American Revolution against the British Tories.

"But President Truman and his administration have decided otherwise. They have decided to force the puppet Syngman Rhee upon the Korean people—that same Syngman Rhee whose administration was completely repudiated and defeated in the last South Korean election. It is an attempt to nullify the will of the Korean people which was expressed in the last election by force of American arms. It is the application of the same policy of trying to force the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek upon the Chinese people—the same Chiang Kai-shek who was run out of China by the Chinese people.

"In an attempt to justify this military invasion, Truman is using Hitler's method of crying 'Communist aggression.' But what is the truth? It is known by the United States, the United Nations and the world that the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Korea a year and a half ago. Even our local papers tell us that there are no Soviet troops in Korea today.

"Under these circumstances, it is becoming increasingly clear that the United States Government is carrying on the policy of Wall Street big business to dominate the world.

"Think clearly, fellow-Americans: consider the facts deeply. Our country, our sons and daughters, are in grave danger. At first it was military supplies, and Naval and Air Force aid. A few days later it was a few battalions of American troops; now it is divisions and whole armies. Next it will be atomic bombs and the wholesale slaughter of millions of people. Such a course can only lead to a third world war with the existence of all the people of the world at stake.

"Such a course can be stopped by the united demand of the people for peace.

"Demand a halt to the aggressive military adventures of our administration before they touch off worldwide atomic war.

"Hands off Korea. Demand the immediate withdrawal of United States warships, Air Force, and troops and an end to shipment of arms to the puppet regimes in Korea, Formosa, Vietnam.

"Ban the atomic bomb and declare that government an enemy of mankind that first uses it.

"We must—all of us who cherish freedom, who abhor atomic death for hundreds of millions—unite our ranks, combine in a solid front of the people for peace.

"Let your desire for peace be heard.

"Issued by The Communist Party of Hawaii, P. O. Box 3886."

Although Charles K. Fujimoto, chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii, has continued his propagandizing efforts on a limited scale, no other persons in Hawaii have publicly admitted current Communist Party affiliation. No reliable record of the number of Communist Party members in Hawaii has been found locally, but J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testified before a Senate committee in Washington, in 1950, that there were 160 members of the Communist Party in Hawaii.

Following the Communist practice of changing the name of an organization that has developed an unsavory reputation, the Communist-front Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee became affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress, national Communist-front group, in October, 1950, and thereupon adopted the title, Hawaii Civil Rights Congress. A magazine entitled "News," an inflammatory publication issued by the Civil Rights Congress, has appeared in Hawaii during the past several months. Its content is almost completely Communist in nature.

The formal organization of the Communist Party of Hawaii during the past year is not known. The party is well underground, for two principal reasons: first, the exposure provided by the April 1950, hearings conducted in Honolulu by the House Un-American Activities Committee and, second, by the war in Korea. It must be assumed, however, that the Communist Party apparatus has been maintained intact as far as top direction and control are concerned, although individual "cells" may be inactive. Just as the Communist Party of Hawaii went underground during World War II, yet reappeared stronger than ever after the war, so may it do again unless continued vigilance is maintained to detect and expose its conspiratorial operations.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY PROPAGANDA

Propaganda of the Communist Party which has in the past been disseminated in the Hawaiian Islands has been of several types, printed and oral. It has appeared in several languages. Sometimes it has been produced locally, and other times introduced from overseas. Its sole and continuing purpose has been to implement the Communist line, that is, to urge support of the Communist side of various issues. It sometimes has been openly labeled as Communist Party propaganda—for example, the occasional leaflets distributed in the name of the party and the one radio talk given by Charles K. Fujimoto, as so-called chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii—but usually its true nature as Communist material has been concealed, better to insure its reading and acceptance by the uncritical or uninitiated.

For the purposes of this section of the report, consideration is given only to propaganda initiated by the formal Communist Party and its affiliates and not to Marxist tracts, such as were printed in the Japanese language and circulated into the Territory of Hawaii more than 20 years ago.

#### LEAFLETS

Many people have, until recent years, come to consider the throwaway leaflet as the chief, if not only, type of Communist propaganda device. A person is likely to have seen or read of the mass distribution of such leaflets in American industrial centers where the Communist Party has operated openly, and of the passing out of throwaways at Hyde Park in London incidental to soapbox orations by Communists. However, the propaganda leaflet has been little used by the Party in Hawaii, because at no time since its formation has it operated

openly as does its counterparts in California, New York, and other sections of the country.

It is recorded by Richard Krebs that, in 1925, upon visiting Hawaii on a ship that had sailed from California, he went ashore at Hilo and distributed Communist propaganda leaflets. He also reports that he submitted a propaganda plan for Hawaii to the Comintern. It is interesting to note that his suggestions, whether or not known to local Communists in later years, have been followed by them in many respects.

In June 1938, at a rally of strikers at Aala Park, Honolulu, George Mayenschein, a merchant-marine Communist, distributed Communist handbills. In content, the leaflets stated the Communist Party's endorsement of the strikers and called upon other groups in the community to support them. In the body of the leaflet, mention was made of the "Hawaiian section of the American Communist Party," while the foot of the sheet bore the signature, "Communist Party, Honolulu branch." When interviewed by the press, Mayenschein disclaimed authorship of the leaflets or official connection with the Communist Party here, saying that he was a member of the party but was not its official agent in Honolulu.

In 1940, several practice blackouts were held in Honolulu. During the course of one of these drills, leaflets originated by the Communist Party of Hawaii appeared in public places. The message contained in the leaflets was, in substance, this: "Do not cooperate in the trial blackout unless you want to 'black out' your civil liberties."

Shortly before the commencement on June 15, 1946, of the maritime strike which involved Hawaiian and Pacific coast ports, Ralph Vossbrink, then assistant Honolulu port agent of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, openly distributed on the Honolulu waterfront copies of a Communist leaflet supporting the seamen. The handbill bore the imprint of "The Waterfront Committee, Communist Party, San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, Pedro, Honolulu," and concluded with the urging, "Join the Communist Party." Questioned by the press concerning his motive for distributing this literature, Vossbrink is quoted as having said:

"However, none of the political parties other than the Communist party has made leaflets on the strike situation available to us, and we would welcome such leaflets from the Republican and Democratic Parties.

"Speaking for my own organization, we will welcome support from all groups and political parties. I will make available to our membership leaflets and papers issued by such adverse groups as the Christian Science Monitor and the Daily Worker."

Whereas the leaflet distributed by Vossbrink apparently was prepared on the mainland, the Communist Party of Hawaii subsequently prepared and distributed its own mimeographed leaflets, usually crude in typography and content. None of these is of such importance as to require reproduction in this report, and it will suffice to mention a few of the themes of the leaflets:

(1) Opposition to the Mundt-Nixon (Communist control) bill pending in Congress, 1948.

(2) Opposition to all Government committees charged with the duty of investigating and exposing the Communist Party.

(3) Support of socialism.

(4) Opposition to the Honolulu daily press.

(5) Support of the international Communist position that in the event of a war with Soviet Russia, the Communists would not fight against the U. S. S. R.

(6) Support of the international Communist position calculated to weaken American superiority in the atomic field.

(7) Opposition to constituted Federal and Territorial government authorities.

Nearly always interspersed with the themes just mentioned were innocuous or noncontroversial proposals to make the main dose palatable, for example:

"Retard unemployment."

"National policy of peaceful cooperation with other peoples of the world."

"Reduction of public-utility rates without reduction in service."

"Extended social insurance benefits."

#### PUBLICATIONS

There is no openly identified newspaper or other publication of the Communist Party printed in the Territory of Hawaii. However, there are several news-

papers printed locally whose content is such as to suggest Communist authorship.

The Honolulu Record, a weekly published in Honolulu since August 1948, has been described by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, as a "Communist front." Certain additional material not presented in that committee's report is presented in annex 24 hereto.

The Hawaii Star, published weekly in Honolulu since March 1947, is the subject of annex 23 to this report. Since April 1948, this publication has appeared in the Japanese language, whereas previously it also had an English section. It can be concluded from the material set forth in annex 23 that the Hawaii Star has a heavy content of Communist propaganda.

Both the Honolulu Record and Hawaii Star carry many news reports and much editorial comment concerning world events. The presentation of these matters has been generally in the same manner as that of the Daily People's World, one of the two leading Communist dailies in the United States. For purposes of comparison this commission's staff has made a study of the content of the Honolulu Record, of the Hawaii Star, and of the Daily People's World for the same 3-month period in 1950. This study has revealed a marked similarity of material appearing in the three publications and has shown no significant differences among them.

Circulation of the Daily People's World in the Territory of Hawaii has been encouraged by the Communist Party of Hawaii, whose members have used various means to circulate it. It has been made available to the rank and file of some unions by their leaders. In its last sworn statement of ownership, the Daily People's World declared that the publishing corporation had no stockholders and that the sole bondholder was George R. Andersen, 240 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif. An individual of that name at that address is one of the chief attorneys for the ILWU.

There is also circulated in the Territory of Hawaii a biweekly called Ti Mangyuna (The Pioneer), printed in the Ilocano dialect. Its editor is Koji Ariyoshi, who is also editor of the Honolulu Record. These publications and the Hawaii Star are published at the same plant in Honolulu. No analysis of the content of Ti Mangyuna has been made by this commission, but it is known that it publishes some of the articles and photographs which appear in the Honolulu Record.

In recent months there has been circulated in Hawaii a magazine titled "News." The cover and general format of this magazine bears a marked similarity to that of the weekly news magazine, Time. News is published by the Civil Rights Congress of New York City. It is circulated in the Hawaiian Islands by the Hawaii Civil Rights Congress, an affiliate of the publisher. The Civil Rights Congress is generally considered to be one of the largest Communist-front organizations in the United States.

News presents the unadulterated Communist line on such issues as defense of Communists, criticism of housing conditions, praising well-known Communist sympathizers such as Paul Robeson, denunciation of General MacArthur and all investigations of communism, and advocacy of the so-called Russian "peace" programs.

Certain trade-union newspapers circulated in the Hawaiian Islands have been examined and a Communist line content noted in some. This is not to say that such publications do not also present legitimate trade-union news, for they do. However, where such publications are controlled by Communist-led unions, the papers are also used for Communist purposes.

#### RADIO

Shortly after he announced that he had assumed the chairmanship of the Communist Party of Hawaii, Charles K. Fujimoto gave a talk over a Honolulu radio station, outlining the alleged program of his party. This is the only known broadcast sponsored and paid for by the Communist Party and openly identified as such.

However, certain other radio programs in the English, Japanese, and Ilocano languages have been broadcast regularly over a radio network in the Hawaiian Islands. These programs are sponsored by the ILWU, and the amount of money spent annually to sustain them is very large. While legitimate news and commentaries of interest to trade unionists may be said to constitute the greater part of these broadcasts, the use of them as a means to disseminate Communist propaganda in the Territory of Hawaii is clear. In March 1949, Walter Stack,

a merchant-marine Communist, was interviewed on one of these network programs. He presented the viewpoint the Communist Party on a number of topics. While his invitation to speak on that program may have been the result of individual action, and not action of the sponsoring union, the fact remains that the union did not repudiate the broadcast.

In fact, it should be stated at this point that no instance of criticism of the Communist Party by the ILWU has come to the attention of this Commission.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Propaganda may be disseminated in many ways, and this Commission has not attempted to make a complete analysis of all Communist propaganda in the Territory. It must be pointed out that any means by which one person may influence the thinking and actions of another constitutes a medium of propaganda.

The sponsorship of the speaking tour of Celeste Strack in 1948 provided another means of spreading the Communist line in Hawaii. Miss Strack, educational director of the Communist Party of California, was brought to Hawaii as a defense witness in the Reinecke case. She made a tour of the various islands and spoke to many audiences. She openly presented the Communist Party viewpoint on many topics. Her trip was reported in a feature article which appeared in the *Daily People's World*, Communist newspaper published on the west coast. Her travel throughout the Hawaiian Islands was financed by the ILWU.

Communists have caused to be conducted various rallies, which have provided a means for further disseminating the Communist line.

#### DISCUSSION GROUPS

A study of Communist tactics in various countries during the past several decades shows that in those areas where the Communist Party has carried on underground operations, the "development" of persons for recruitment into the party has been accomplished effectively through the medium of the "study group," or, as it is more often called locally, the "discussion group." Such groups are of many types, varying from an apparently innocent gathering of persons to discuss current events on an organized basis, to a full-fledged Communist course openly identified as such. Between those extremes lies the group which studies formal Marxism-Leninism (often with reference to current problems), but which is not identified to the participants as being directed by the Communist Party. This section of the report is concerned chiefly with discussion groups and study groups not identified to the participants as Communist directed. It does not embrace courses held for persons who have already joined the party.

The subversive dangers which are inherent in Communist and Marxist study groups are dramatically presented in the report of the Royal Commission which investigated wartime Russian espionage in Canada. The Commission on Subversive Activities believes that parts of that report illustrate beyond any doubt the seductive nature of Communist study groups.

It is generally known that the Communist Party, U. S. A., has been built upon cell-like units (variously called cells, fractions, clubs, branches, and the like) which often have been the outgrowths of discussion groups. So-called intellectuals usually are drawn into the party through discussion groups rather than by direct approach.

It was the study group that offered Communist leaders in Canada (who were acting under the orders of Russian espionage agents) the vehicle which they used to induce certain Canadians to betray their country through the willing disclosure of top-secret scientific and military information. The results obtained through this process were truly phenomenal when one considers that many of the subverted persons were not even members of the Communist Party and some did not even realize that they were being used against their own nation.

During the late 1920's and early 1930's—at a time when the Japanese Government was exerting a strong effort to stamp out communism within the Empire—there existed in Hawaii several active Marxist groups whose membership was composed of persons of Japanese ancestry, of both alien and United States citizen status. These Marxist groups held regular study group meetings at several places in Honolulu and on the islands of Maui and Kauai.

With one notable exception, these Marxist groups were led by persons who came to Hawaii from Japan or by persons whose indoctrination in Marxist ideology was received from persons who were natives of Japan. Jack Denichi Kimoto, until recently editor of the pro-Communist *Hawaii Star*, was the leader of Marxist study groups during the 1930's.

About 1934-36, other persons, including maritime and waterfront union leaders and a University of Hawaii instructor and students, held informal Marxist discussions at the MacDonald Hotel and at several other places near the university. These groups supported the Honolulu labor newspaper, Voice of Labor, with which Jack W. Hall, waterfront labor leader, and George Goto, MacDonald Hotel group member, were associated. Ichiro Izuka, ex-Communist Party member, has written that Hall and Goto influenced him toward communism in 1938.

Among the first study group meetings conducted by a member of the Communist Party of Hawaii were those held during 1938 and 1939 at the home of Dr. and Mrs. John E. Reinecke, 3571 Pahoa Avenue, Honolulu. At those meetings, Dr. Reinecke, who usually acted as leader of the group, conducted the discussions of current events, interpreting them in the light of Marxist-Leninist teaching. He used pamphlets issued by International Publishers, which has been described by the Attorney General of the United States as "an organ of the Communist Party."

Semiprivate discussions of world affairs, international politics, and current events were frequent outgrowths of Interprofessional Association meetings in Honolulu during 1937-41. These discussions sometimes were held at homes of various IPA members, a number of whom are known to have been sympathetic toward Russia and toward Marxist-Leninist ideology. Many of these informal discussions centered about topics which offered excellent opportunity for the injection of Marxist-Leninist thought. Several persons who participated in these discussions were well schooled in the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

During the summer of 1941 meetings of another Marxist-Leninist study group were held at the Honolulu residence of a woman who left the Territory some years ago. Participants in these study group meetings were students at the University of Hawaii and other youthful residents of Honolulu. This group's devotion to the Communist cause is evident from the literature that formed the basis for their study and discussion. All were provided with and encouraged to read thoroughly the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. A portion of this literature was brought to the Territory by Communist couriers aboard Matson ships. One of the leaders of this group, David Evans Thompson, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party of Hawaii in the postwar period.

Military restrictions imposed after the outbreak of war with Japan brought a temporary cessation of Communist Party meetings and Communist study group meetings. However, shortly after the Battle of Midway (June 1942) Communist leaders inaugurated a series of meetings at the homes of certain Communists and Communist sympathizers, the most prominent of whom was Dr. John E. Reinecke. These meetings were designed to maintain contact among party members and prospective party members until such time as the party might be officially reactivated. They were effectively employed as a "cover" for maintaining liaison among prewar Communists and Communist sympathizers, as well as for the possible "development" of future party members. Through these meetings, party members and sympathizers were exposed to developments and changes in the Communist Party line.

With the opening of the Honolulu Labor Canteen in August, 1945, the wartime meetings at various private homes ceased and the energies of the members of such groups were directed toward the success of the canteen. Shortly after the canteen closed about June 1946, a Marxist-Leninist indoctrination study group was begun at the home of Dr. John E. Reinecke. The first course offered was taught by Dr. Reinecke himself. A subsequent course was conducted by David Hyun. Each course was of approximately 9 or 10 weeks duration. If an individual completed the course satisfactorily, he was approached and asked to become a member of the Communist Party. Richard M. Kageyama testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee in April 1950, that after having completed the course at Dr. Reinecke's home he was asked to become a formal Communist Party member, and did so. Literature distributed at the Reinecke residence included the writings of Karl Marx, Joseph Stalin, V. I. Lenin, Frederick Engels, and Eugene Dennis.

A more advanced Marxist-Leninist study group met weekly during the summer of 1946 at a home in the Makiki district of Honolulu. It was called a "current events" discussion group. The leaders were servicemen from the mainland who were well-schooled in Marxist-Leninist ideology. These leaders employed the usual Communist technique of choosing some facet of current political or social thought or some particular news event, and evaluating it in the light of current Communist interpretation. Some of the persons who attended meetings of this

discussion group appear to have been already influenced by previous exposure to Communist interpretation.

A third postwar study group held its weekly meetings during the summer of 1946 at a residence at 1526 Kaihee Street, Honolulu, where several Communists resided. Almost all of the members of this group were students of the University of Hawaii and members of Hawaii Youth for Democracy, a campus organization described in annex 10. Discussion leaders were Charles K. Fujimoto, who in mid-October 1948 identified himself as the chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii, and his wife, Eileen T. Fujimoto. (Jeanette M. Nakama, who lived at the home where these meetings were held, and Charles K. Fujimoto refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee in April 1950 concerning their knowledge of Communist activities.) The principal subject matter discussed at the Kaihee Street meetings was the status of the so-called progressive movements throughout the world. The discussion leaders applied the term "progressive movements" to the efforts of revolutionary elements to overthrow the governments of such countries as Greece, India, Indonesia, Iran, and Korea. The tenor of their remarks left a clear implication that the United States and England, the so-called western democracies, were guided solely by capitalistic and imperialistic principles. Among the authors of the literature studied and discussed at the Kaihee Street residence were Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, William Z. Foster, and Rev. Hewlett Johnson (the "Red dean of Canterbury"). Discussion leaders also provided copies of *The Communist Manifesto* for the participants.

Beginning in February 1948, a class in basic Marxism met weekly at the home of Robert Greene, 2181-J Kalia Road, Honolulu. He is a former chairman of the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, leading postwar Communist-front organization in Hawaii. A former Communist Party member testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee in April 1950 that he observed Greene in attendance at a Communist Party meeting in Honolulu. Additional classes in Marxism were held during the early months of 1948 at the home of Dwight James Freeman, Communist Party organizer in Hawaii.

Only recently has this commission uncovered certain evidence concerning some postwar Communist study groups. Therefore, it is not possible to include in this report as full a presentation as may be available in the future. It has been indicated, however, that among the participants in these groups have been some persons who are now public employees. A number of these employees, when interviewed, have concealed their participation in these groups. This suggests the possibility that some may have developed the "ethic of conspiracy" mentioned by the Canadian Royal Commission. As to any such public employees, the need for a loyalty-review procedure is evident.

#### COMMUNISTS IN PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

There are around 15,000 employees of the Territorial and county governments, about 5,000 of whom are in the department of public instruction and the University of Hawaii. In conducting its inquiry, this commission has been unable to investigate the possibilities of subversive activities on the part of all public employees. In the time allotted, it was found that specific attention could be given to only a few government departments. This commission determined that surveys be made of the department of public instruction and the University of Hawaii. In addition, certain individual cases of other public employees were given investigative attention.

The general survey conducted by this commission, and an analysis of all information received by it from various sources, fails to reveal the presence now of any proven Communists in public employment. In public office there is, however, one person, Shigeo Takemoto, a member of the civil-service commission, county of Maui, who claimed his privilege against self-incrimination when asked questions concerning Communist activities by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1950. However, in 1949 he executed the Territorial form of loyalty oath, which includes a statement that he was not then and for 5 years previously had not been a member of the Communist Party.

In examining official records concerning public employees, this commission has concluded that it would be desirable that a standard form of personnel record, similar to that kept on Federal civil-service employees, be maintained on every officer and employee. In many instances valuable investigative time would not have been expended on collateral searches had the files checked contained the desired information. In conjunction with its recommendations, as stated at the

end of the report, this commission believes that any loyalty-review program that might be adopted by the Territory would necessarily have to have, as the basis for the review of individual cases, an adequate required personal history form.

There have been times in the past when Communists have been elected or appointed to public office. It is not believed that the voters of the Territory knowingly would ever have placed a Communist in office and that no department head would have permitted a known Communist to obtain or remain in Territorial or county office or employment. Unless, however, some standardized procedure for the detection of subversives in public office and employment is established, the possibility will always exist that other Communists will be elected to office or serve as public employees.

#### DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The importance to the Communist Party of placing its members in a position where they can indoctrinate young people is well recognized, and the obvious way of attaining that end is through infiltrating the educational system. The position of the Communist Party, U. S. A., with reference to the schools and the tasks assigned by it to Communist teachers are shown in annex 13.

It is mainly because of the known interest of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in the schools that this commission conducted a survey of the Territorial department of public instruction. The investigation was conducted chiefly through a study of official records, interviews with many witnesses on the four main islands of the Territory, and testimony taken under oath.

The reason for surveying any school system for evidence of subversive activities is not only to detect the presence of any Communist personnel, but also to determine the general pattern of Communist operations relating to the schools, if present. Nowadays, however, it is not generally possible to identify Communists by their own admissions. In most cases they may be exposed only by Communist Party documents or through testimony of ex-Communists. It has become increasingly difficult to obtain such evidence. Emphasis must therefore be laid on ascertaining matters of personal conduct and ethics which tend to show pro-Communist inclinations, rather than proof of formal membership in a subversive group.

This commission believes that the participation of teachers in Communist-front organizations easily can earn for them the general repute of being Communists, or at least, of being pro-Communist in their sympathies. In the case of teachers, their acquiring such a reputation tends to impair public confidence in the schools, and their individual actions in association with persons engaged in subversive activities will set an unwanted example for students to follow.

In the course of its survey, this commission has given specific attention to the cases about 50 teachers who have served in the public-school system since World War II. A small number of those teachers have participated in pro-Communist activities, but no evidence has been discovered that would prove the presence now of a single Communist in the department of public instruction. However, because of the stringent security measures now practiced by Communists, no one can warrant with certainty that any school system is entirely free of Communist personnel.

#### UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

This commission's investigation concerning the University of Hawaii was limited to the matter of communism, there having been no evidence obtained to indicate any other type of subversive activity there. The inquiry concerned faculty members, students, employees, and campus organizations, and was conducted generally in the same manner as was the survey of the public-school system. A more detailed report is contained in annex 13.

During 1935-41 a few faculty members and students at the university became interested, almost entirely from an intellectual standpoint, in the study and discussion of Marxist philosophy. This activity was largely of an unorganized nature, although it did often involve association with offcampus groups. A chapter of the pro-Communist American Student Union (see annex 25) was organized at the university in the fall of 1938, but gained little recognition and became defunct in a year or two.

In the fall of 1937, Dr. John E. Reinecke, then an instructor at the university, helped organize the pro-Communist Interprofessional Association, Honolulu chapter. (See annex 5.) Several university faculty members and students were

connected with the IPA, either as members, attendants at its meetings, or guest speakers. It does not appear, however, that the character of the IPA was appreciated fully by persons at the university.

For about a year after World War II, there existed at the university a student organization called the Hawaii Youth for Democracy. That it patterned itself after the American Youth for Democracy, a subversive and Communist group on the mainland, and was of specific interest to the Communist Party of Hawaii, is apparent. (See annex 10.) A significant influence on the HYD appears to have been exerted by Charles K. Fujimoto, who during 1945-46, was employed as a research chemist at the Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station, a division of the university. Fujimoto, who resigned his university position in 1948, to assume the chairmanship of the Communist Party of Hawaii, led discussion groups for university students at his home during 1946. Some of these students were leaders in the HYD.

A very few members of the university staff (faculty and employees) have been associated with pro-Communist causes since World War II, but no evidence has been obtained to indicate that any of them, other than Fujimoto, has attempted to influence student thinking toward communism.

Stephen T. Murin and Claude W. White, students enrolled at the university, are of some interest. Murin, who formerly lived in Pennsylvania and came to Hawaii in 1947, has been identified as having been a member of the Communist Party in his home State. He was so identified by Matthew Cvetic, a former FBI undercover agent in the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania. Murin has served as chairman of the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist front organization. In the fall of 1950 that group changed its name to Hawaii Civil Rights Congress and affiliated itself with the Civil Rights Congress, well known national Communist-front organization. Murin continued as chairman of the HCRC until he was succeeded by Claude W. White in February 1951. At that time Murin became vice chairman of the HCRC. There is no evidence at hand to indicate either of these students has attempted to further the interests of the HCRC on the university campus.

The survey made by this Commission failed to disclose that any Communists are employed by the University of Hawaii. The present administration and faculty appear to be conscious of the danger of communism and have taken steps to keep it from the campus.

#### POLITICAL ACTION

Not until the year 1946 were Communists to become prominent in the elections of the Territory. It was in that year that the CIO Territorial Political Action Committee (usually referred to as CIO-PAC) was activated. Because the CIO-PAC has been the subject of investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee, no further discussion of that matter appears necessary. However, this commission believes that no unfavorable implication should be drawn against any person merely because, as a candidate in 1946, he accepted the endorsement of the CIO-PAC.

The next major effort of the Communist Party in the field of political action was its infiltration and attempt to control the Democratic Party of Hawaii in 1948. In the election of Democratic Party precinct club officers in April 1948, the Communists exerted strong efforts to win control of certain clubs. As a result of their concerted efforts, they and persons directly subject to their influence won a sizable minority of the precinct club offices. Because of their control of some precinct clubs, the Communists were able to obtain appointment of persons of their choice as election officials.

The Communist infiltration of the Democratic Party appears to have been planned well in advance, because by the time the Territorial convention of the Democratic Party was held at McKinley High School Auditorium, Honolulu, on May 2, 1948, a relatively large number of Communists had been chosen as delegates or alternate delegates to that convention. Information available to this Commission indicates that 41 Communist Party members held credentials at the convention. Of those, five had been members of the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii:

Jack W. Hall  
Koichi Imori  
Jack H. Kawano  
Jack Denichi Kimoto  
Ralph V. Vossbrink

Several Communist Party members secured appointments to the standing committees of the Democratic convention.

Previous to the holding of the convention, Jack H. Kawano and Isaac K. Kauwe, who have admitted their former Communist Party membership, were elected to the Territorial Central Committee of the Democratic Party. Another person elected to that committee was Thomas S. Yagi, one of the "Reluctant 39."

In May 1948, two identified members of the Communist Party were elected officers of the Oahu County Committee of the Democratic Party.

There is evidence that illegal means may have been employed either by or for the benefit of Communists who infiltrated the Democratic Party in 1948. To illustrate: Three persons not legally domiciled in the 30th Precinct, 4th District, executed false declarations that they resided there. All three chose the same address, that being the home of an employee in the ILWU regional office. One of the false registrants was similarly employed. All three of the false registrants have been identified with the ILWU or with the leftwing element of the Democratic Party. As a result of their actions, the three persons were able to obtain official positions in the 1948 elections, two as inspectors of election and the other as clerk. Another elector of the 30th Precinct brought statutory proceedings in 1950 to debar the three false registrants from the rolls of the precinct. After a hearing, the board of registration of electors, District of Oahu, ordered the names of all three stricken. In those proceedings, one respondent admitted that he had improperly registered in the 30th Precinct.

Two witnesses subpoenaed to testify during the proceedings of this commission admitted their membership in the Democratic Party and that they were Democratic precinct club and election officials in the 1948 elections. When asked to provide information concerning the Communist Party's plan to infiltrate and control the Democratic Party, each of these witnesses refused to testify, invoking the right against self-incrimination.

In 1949, many Democrats began to examine critically the status of their party. In June 1949, a resolution was introduced before the Territorial central committee which required that all prospective Democratic Party members swear that they were not and had never been members of the Communist Party or any other subversive organization. However, after a bitterly contested 3-hour session highlighted by an exchange of invectives between the "right" and "left-wing" committee members, the resolution was rejected by a vote of 8-7 (15 committee members being absent).

In January 1950, it was announced that all units of the ILWU had been notified to establish "political committees" before February 1. These committees were to function in connection with the election of delegates to the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention to be held in April 1950. The political committees were to remain intact for the fall elections as well.

In the constitutional convention election, two of the 63 offices were won by Richard M. Kageyama, a former member of the Communist Party, and Frank G. Silva, one of the "Reluctant 39". The reported connection of these two men with Communist activities was not known to the electorate at the time. Kageyama resigned from the convention after testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee that he was at one time a member of the Communist Party. Silva was subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee, but refused to testify on the ground that his testimony might tend to incriminate him. Silva was asked to resign from his office of delegate to the constitutional convention, but refused to do so. He was then expelled from the convention.

Since the Communist infiltration of the Democratic Party was exposed by the House committee hearings, the Democratic Party has split into "right" and "left" groups. Within each group there are many persons who are actively seeking to remove all traces of Communist influence from the Democratic Party.

#### OBSERVATIONS BY THE COMMISSION

Perhaps the most serious aspect of the problem of combating subversive activities is the uncritical acceptance by many persons of the propaganda of subversive groups and, strangely, a reluctance to accept (or even examine the basis for) authoritative warnings of the dangers of communism. This strongly suggests that the average person has not been adequately prepared—in the schools and churches, at home, and by the press—to comprehend the nature of communism.

This commission believes that the battle against communism and other subversive movements must be waged on two fronts. On the one side, all institutions of education and propagation of knowledge must be dedicated to the proposition

that all persons within their reach shall be apprised of the heritage of America and the ideals of democracy. So grounded, they will not trade their birthright of constitutional liberties for an illusory facade of perfection which hides a totalitarian despotism. On the other side, there is need for a continuing study and exposure of all subversive movements by properly constituted agencies, Federal and local.

This commission believes that American governments and private institutions have, in general, until recent times failed to inform the American people of the true nature of communism, which appears in this country in the guise of the Communist Party, U. S. A. and a myriad of "fronts," Communist-line publications, and other knowing and unwitting elements of the Communist apparatus. To place but a share of the blame, the schools must be named as among those who have failed in this task.

Many persons who testified before this commission, or were interviewed by its staff, were educated in the public schools of Hawaii. Several who admitted some connection with Communist activities volunteered the criticism that they had not, but should have, been warned in school against the dangers of communism. One witness before this commission, at the conclusion of his testimony, asked, "May I make one final statement before I leave?" He then volunteered these remarks:

"I believe that a lot of this thing would not have come about if the American education system had been changed, had approached this thing in a more realistic manner. Just as venereal disease, sex, and any other thing has been a hush-hush subject. Because this is the reason why I am firmly convinced of this, is because up until the time I was approached by Charlie Fujimoto I had no inkling of what the Communist Party was about. My sole purpose was to better the unions in Hawaii and the people, the children today and the children to come. If they are still hush-hush on this matter it is a bad thing. 'Let's not talk about.' I think that is one of the main reasons why such a rapid growth during 1946 and 1947 took place within the Communist Party, because I say it is easily 75 percent of them that don't know what the heck they were going into. And I think it is about time that we make a realistic approach to this matter and let the people of Hawaii and of the United States know just what the heck it is about. And if by letting them know, letting the people honestly know what this is all about, if in the future they feel that that is the form of government they want, then it is up to the American people. That is democracy, I believe. But to keep it hidden and then to have some guy, who is a professional out to recruit, to come up and present it to them, well, gentlemen, it is just like shooting fish in a barrel. That is the way I feel about it."

It has come to the attention of this commission that some teachers consider the subject of communism to be a "controversial issue" and that, in conformity with certain professional doctrines, it should be taught with no attempt on the part of the teacher to influence the student's judgment. This commission believes that most subjects should be taught impartially, leaving it to the student to decide each issue for himself, but points out that the good or evil of communism (that is, of the Russian-directed penetration of the United States) is no more a controversial issue than is treason. The policy of the United States is clear on that. This commission concurs with the view of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, D. W. Harold Loper, that "where the question of communism is concerned, such academic impartiality is a sign of uncritical thinking." (See annex 13.)

It is believed that it should be the policy of our schools to see that teachers apprise themselves of the facts concerning communism and that the curriculum contain provision for imparting those facts to students.

A serious problem is presented in the form of the self-styled "liberal" who insists on his right to support causes without knowing (and, seemingly, without caring) what the true natures of those causes are. This uncritical acceptance of things as they seem to be presents a problem to be solved by those who shape individual thinking and public opinion, not by legislation.

The recent remarks of a Federal judge in Hawaii, having been made during the incumbency of this commission and being related to matters within its inquiry, are deemed a matter of necessary comment. In April 1950, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives held public hearings in Honolulu. At these hearings, 39 witnesses refused to answer questions touching their alleged Communist Party affiliations, as result of which they were indicted and tried in the United States District Court for Hawaii for

the offense of contempt of Congress. The presiding judge acquitted the 39 accused, basing his judgment on a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court. Concerning that decision and the local judge's interpretation thereof, this commission expresses no opinion. However, after having directed the acquittals and having disposed of the justiciable matters pending, the judge then gratuitously expressed his personal views on the subject of the Communist Party in Hawaii. That he cared to do so, whether on the bench or as a private citizen, was his undoubted right; but, that he should express the view, concerning the Communist Party, that—"So far as I am concerned, people who choose to may belong to it," is believed by this commission to be extremely regrettable, considering the source. (See annex 4.)

This commission also believes that the individual and concerted actions of some persons, who, under the banner of anticommunism, have attempted to preempt the governmental function of investigation and exposure of communism in Hawaii, have been ill advised. The motives of persons so engaged have been varied, and it is not said that they were not good, but the participants seldom have been equipped by training or with authority to perform their self-appointed tasks. Libelous lists of names of alleged "subversives" have been circulated. "Guilt by association," in the sheerest sense of the phrase, has been advocated. "Book burning" has been suggested.

Recalling its earlier statement that the attack on communism must be twofold—through education and by the maintenance of proper security procedures—this commission strongly suggests that individual citizens and their clubs and other organizations concentrate their energies in this field on making American democracy work and continue to work, and that they leave the matter of investigating and exposing subversive persons to the proper governmental authorities.

#### OTHER SUBJECTS OF INVESTIGATION

In conducting its inquiry, the commission on subversive activities has attempted to determine whether any subversive activities, other than communism, are current in the Territory of Hawaii. In that regard, attention has been given to the list of organizations classified by the United States Attorney General as "totalitarian," "Fascist," "subversive," and the like.

No evidence of the existence of fascism was discovered. In addition to the usual methods of inquiry, an investigator of the commission interviewed Charles K. Fujimoto, chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii, and Stephen T. Murin, who was then chairman of the Hawaii Civil Rights Congress, successor to the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist-front organization. Each was asked whether he had any information tending to show the existence of Fascist activities in Hawaii. Each replied in the negative. Fujimoto added that he considered a certain local anti-Communist organization to be "Fascist," but that he did not think that its individual members were Fascists. (The description of anti-Communist groups as "Fascist" is universal among Communists.) Two other persons identified as Communists in sworn testimony were asked if they had any evidence of fascism here. They offered none.

This commission also has attempted to determine whether there exist in the Territory of Hawaii any pro-Japan organizations that might be classified as "totalitarian" by the Attorney General of the United States. The results of this investigation were negative. Although there were in Hawaii at the end of World War II a very few alien Japanese who apparently held the view that Japan had not been defeated (this die-hard element being referred to as "katta gumi"), it appears that no significant number of persons still hold that belief, that those who do are not an organized group, and that they are not engaged in subversive activities.

Except for organizations mentioned earlier in this report, no evidence was found that would indicate the presence in Hawaii of any group cited by the Attorney General, or of any other organizations or activities that could be termed "subversive" within the concept of the legislature, as expressed in Joint Resolution 5.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the facts reported above, the Commission on Subversive Activities recommends that the legislature consider the enactment of appropriate legislation to accomplish the following ends:

(A) That a review be made of the loyalty of public officers and employees in a manner similar to that which has been conducted by the Federal Government since 1947.

(B) That the loyalty review program be supervised by a territorial loyalty board, to be appointed by the Governor.

(C) That every person applying for public employment and every person who is required by Territorial law to take and subscribe a loyalty oath be required to execute under oath and file with the Territory a personal history statement, the form of which statement shall be prescribed by the Territorial loyalty board with the approval of the Governor.

(D) That the investigation of individual cases which may be required under the loyalty review program be conducted by an independent investigative agency to be provided for by appropriate legislation, but that the determination of such cases rest with the Territorial loyalty board.

(E) That, except for such requirements as the legislature may see fit to prescribe by statute, the Territorial loyalty board may, with the approval of the Governor, promulgate rules and regulations having the force and effect of law in connection with the loyalty review program.

(F) That the form of loyalty oath now required of public officers and employees be amended so as to be in the words prescribed by the legislature in 1941.

(G) That any public officer or employee called to testify before any lawful court, board, commission, officer or other agency having the power to subpoena witnesses and take testimony who shall refuse to appear, or having appeared shall refuse without right or under claim of privilege of the right against self-incrimination to answer any questions touching his public office or employment or his qualifications therefor (including matters affecting loyalty), shall forthwith be vacated of his office or discharged from his employment, as the case may be.

(H) That an appropriate Territorial agency or officer be empowered and directed to study and expose subversive propaganda being disseminated in the Territory.

This Commission has considered various other proposals for legislation in the field of subversive activities. It does not recommend statutes that would duplicate Federal legislation already in effect.

#### ANNEX 1

(Ichiro Izuka, active in the Communist Party of Hawaii during 1938-46, published a booklet, *The Truth about Communism in Hawaii*, in November 1947. No person named as a Communist by Izuka has sued him for libel. Many persons named as Communists in the pamphlet have refused to answer questions concerning their Communist Party affiliations and activities, claiming their privilege against self-incrimination.

(Part IV of Izuka's story, which in general is corroborated by other evidence, is quoted below.)

#### REACTIVATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AFTER WORLD WAR II

The Communist Party in Hawaii was reactivated in November 1945. For some months before this, our leading Communists were active in what were known as community discussion groups. The leading spirits were Dr. Reinecke, Mr. and Mrs. Robert McElrath, Peter and Alice Hyun, Eileen Fujimoto, "Jack" Kimoto, Jack Kawano, and myself. This group moved from district to district, to engage in public discussion on subjects of community interest. Usually middle class and professional people were invited to attend through personal contacts by party members. These meetings attracted school principals, teachers, welfare workers and a sprinkling of manual workers.

They were a success and had the effect of increasing the prestige of our leading Communists in the community. None of the good middle class people who attended had any idea that they were being led by Communists, but to me, looking at it from the inside, this activity merely constituted another front activity.

When orders came to reactivate the party, the discussion groups were dropped. Three cells, clubs, or fractions were formed at once. I was told that since I was not in a CIO union I should attend the meetings of the miscellaneous group, composed of people from the drydocks, A. F. of L., machinists union, and so forth. The first meeting of this group was held in Waikiki in the house of Elizabeth Bristow, secretary to Jack Hall. Present were Ernst Arena, Ralph Vossbrink, Jack Hall, K. Imori, Robert McElrath, Frank Thompson, Elizabeth

Bristow, and myself. The first order of business was the election of officers which resulted as follows:

Chairman, Jack Hall

Literature director, Ralph Vossbrink (he was the individual who caused some excitement in Honolulu by passing out Communist literature on the waterfront).

Educational director, Robert McElrath

Treasurer, Ichiro Izuka

As treasurer, I kept a card in code showing the name of each member, his Communist Party book number, the monthly dues, initiation fee, and the month and date of payment of dues. A photostat of this card is shown below.

[Card not reproduced here, but see Izuka exhibit 12, at p. 1406 of Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii—Part 1, published by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives.]

This card requires decoding since I was instructed to keep the information confidential and to devise a system of recording which I, alone, could understand. The first symbol in column I is a Russian "A" and stands for Ernest Arena. In the next column is his book number, which was 74515, in column three is \$1 dues for the month of November 1945. He received a raise in wages in January 1946, which raise required him to pay dues of \$2 a month. The second symbol in column I is a Russian "B" and stands for Ralph Vossbrink. The third is a Japanese character and indicates Jeanette Nakama. The fourth symbol is a Russian "H" and stands for Jack Hall. The fifth is a Japanese character and stands for Imori. The sixth is an English "I" and stands for Izuka. The seventh symbol is a Russian "M" and stands for McElrath. The eighth symbol down is Russian "T" for Mr. Frank Thompson, then the ILWU international representative in the islands. The ninth is a Japanese character and stands for Ralph Tokunaga. The following "O" stands for Wilfred Oka. The card shows he joined the party and paid his dues in February 1946. The other names indicated on the card are as follows: Okuhara, then of the carpenters union, joining in June 1946, Wallace Ho, who didn't pay any dues here because he was paid up in San Francisco and was waiting for his transfer card; David Thompson also waiting for transfer card; Peggy Uesugi, not then a member, merely a prospect. This girl joined later for job security, I believe. She was secretary to Yukio Abe, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, Local 137. Next is her husband who is an employee of the Mutual Telephone Co. It is quite likely he joined the party also to make his wife's job secure. I am quite sure he knows nothing about Communism. The next is Pauline Rosenthal who was waiting for a transfer card from San Francisco, then Abe, a member of the National Maritime Union, and Mrs. Abe, his wife. At the bottom of the card is the Russian "B" to represent Elizabeth Bristow who left in January of 1946 for New York.

Later on more clubs or fractions were formed, first on Oahu, and later on Hawaii, Kauai, Maui, and Lanai. I now give a brief account of these fractions. Since none of us party members were permitted to keep written minutes or records it will readily be understood that much is now forgotten and much I never heard about. Party discipline requires that a member ask no questions about other fractions. Therefore, I have only the sketchiest information and know only the most active members in the party.

The description which follows is as of 1946 before my resignation from party membership in November 1946. As already mentioned, there were three groups at first after reactivation of the party. As these groups increased in size it was decided by the executive board to divide them up so as to have a separate group or fraction in each district where there were party members. Thus there was a Kaimuki group, with Dr. John Reinecke as chairman. This cell met at Reinecke's home at 3571 Pahoehoe Street. I estimate that there were from 10 to 15 in his cell, including Mrs. Aiko Reinecke, Mrs. Peggy Uesugi and, at first, Ernest Arena. Arena later joined the Moilili group because he was a worker and a trade unionist, while the Kaimuki group, composed largely of so-called intellectuals, concerned itself with education. Arena was secretary-treasurer of ILWU Local 150. As an example of the so-called educational work, Dr. Reinecke told me during one of his numerous visits to pier 11, which you might say was headquarters both for ILWU and the Communist Party, that the executive board of the party had assigned to the Kaimuki and Moilili groups the job of strengthening the Hawaii Youth for Democracy. Reinecke was once a teacher at the University of Hawaii. Charles Fujimoto was chairman of the Moilili group and a

chemist employed by the university. It was natural that these two should become most active in promoting Hawaii Youth for Democracy.

Other members of the Moilili group were Wilfred Oka, Koichi Imori, Ralph Tokunaga, and Jeanette Nakama, in whose house at Kaihee Lane the group usually met. A word should be said about the occupations of some of these people. Wilfred Oka was once with the YMCA. From there he went to the Carpenters Union (AFL) as assistant business agent. When he was forced out he secured a job with the teamsters union. He was assigned first, if I remember rightly, to organize Honolulu's taxi drivers. This was around October or November of 1945, or perhaps even earlier. While he was with the teamsters, Oka was recruited for the party by Imori in January 1946, after which he brought about a switch in the affiliation of the taxi drivers from AFL to Culinary and Service Workers Union (CIO) organized by Ralph Vossbrink. At this particular time the party line required that party members do all in their power to secure the affiliation of as many AFL unions as possible with the CIO. Oka, as a good party member, immediately went to work as a kind of casual organizer for CIO unions in Hawaii, all of which are, more or less, controlled by the Communist Party through party members placed in strategic positions in these unions.

Koichi Imori received his training in trade union work from the local Brewery Workers Union under the leadership of Mr. James Cooley. This was back in 1938-41. For a short period Imori was trying to interest garage and service station employees in the United Auto Workers of America (CIO). This union was too long making up its mind whether or not to grant a charter over here, so Imori got himself a job with Morgan Haywood, business representative of the International Association of Machinists, an independent union. He was forced out of this job and was picked up by Mr. Arthur Rutledge of the AFL Teamsters on November 1, 1946. He was given a job as business agent of local 904, Gasoline and Oil Drivers Union.

The party was much in favor of having party members like Imori occupy key positions in unions like the Machinists and Teamsters. Imori was, in fact, a useful pipeline of information for the party. From discussions within the party, in which I myself participated, I believe it is correct to say that Imori was planted, first in the machinists then in the teamsters, by the party itself. Later Rutledge assigned Imori to help Mookini raid the ILWU in the pineapple industry. You will remember Mookini was ousted from the ILWU as president of the Pineapple Union, Local 152. This assignment was too much for Imori. He resigned May 23, 1947, and Rutledge publicly denounced him as a Communist. Rutledge had discovered he was taking subscriptions among the AFL members for the People's World, and Rutledge, with some justification, said that the People's World is the west coast edition of the Daily Worker, New York publication of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Ralph Tokunaga of the Moilili cell was president of the Marine Engineering and Dry Dock Workers Union, affiliated with the ILWU. It is not an accident or a coincidence that Tokunaga is president of this union. The party planned it that way. The party needs people it can trust in such positions, and who could be more trustworthy from a Communist Party point of view than a party member?

Jeanette Nakama at one time was secretary to the port agent of the National Maritime Union (CIO) in Honolulu. She resigned at about the time President Curran of the NMU was denouncing President Harry Bridges of the ILWU and the Communists within his own union. Later I read in the newspapers that she had joined the staff of the department of public welfare in Honolulu.

The next cell or fraction is the Manoa group—the most important of them all. This fraction included Jack Hall, his wife Yoshiko Hall, David Thompson, research director of ILWU, Robert McElrath, international representative of ILWU and Pauline Rosenthal, office manager of ILWU offices at pier 11.

The Puunui group was an offshoot of the Waikiki cell which had been split into three groups, Puunui, Manoa, and Moilili. The Puunui group was first organized in August 1946, at a regular Wednesday night meeting of the Waikiki group, which in this case was held in my home at 2714 Liliha Street. Later it met regularly at this address. The reason for forming the Puunui group was that the original group was getting too large and it was becoming more difficult to keep these meetings secret. Chairman of the group was Ralph Vossbrink and the treasurer was Willis Wong. Other members were: Easter Doyle, of the Dry Dock Workers Union and president of the Oahu Council; Wallace Ho, an employee of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, active also in organizing the Culinary and Service Workers Union with Vossbrink; and Rachel Saiki, who was a star

witness in the NLRB S. H. Kress case in 1938, and who assisted in organizing Spud's Laundry when she was for a time employed there. After I was in disgrace with the party for supporting that long-time friend of labor, Mr. Borthwick, in the delegate race, this group met in Wally Ho's home at 62 Laimi Road.

The McCabe group (mostly employees of the McCabe Co.) was led by Jack Kawano, president of Local 137, ILWU, and later temporary president of the consolidated waterfront local which included longshoremen all over the Territory. Other members were Ben "Big Nose" Kaahawinui and Julian Napuunui, an executive board member of local 137. The Castle and Cooke group was composed mostly of employees of Castle & Cooke Terminals. Eileen Fujimoto, wife of Charles Fujimoto, was chairman and also a member of the executive board of the Communist Party, representing this group. She earns her living as secretary to Jack Kawano. Another member was Joseph "Joe Blurr" Kealalio, who was vice president of ILWU Local 137. Another was Richard Shigemitsu, executive board member of local 137, who was also elected by secret order of the party to the committee for maritime unity, about April 1946.

Early in 1946 all members of the ILWU, who were also members of the party, made up a group generally referred to as the ILWU group. Later it, like the Waiki group, became too large and was split up into three—Castle and Cooke, McCabe, and the Sugar group. I attended many meetings of the ILWU group when it met at Kimoto's home at 2162 Makaanani Drive in Alewa Heights. These meetings discussed such matters as the CMU convention, ILWU-PAC, the coming struggle in sugar, etc.

As to the CMU convention, it happened that there were too many Communist Party members in the ILWU who wished to run for delegate in the Unity conference in San Francisco and there were intelligent non-Communist union members who also made the race for delegate. The ILWU is entitled to 5 delegates, 2 from the waterfront and 3 for sugar, pineapple, and miscellaneous. As regional director of the ILWU, Jack Hall appointed the delegates except those for the longshoremen. This could not happen to the waterfront local because it is under the control of Jack Kawano, its president, and there were too many experienced longshore union men who were anxious to go to San Francisco themselves. The nominations were by petition, I believe. At any rate, there were too many nominations. In the ILWU cell of the Communist Party, the situation was discussed and plans made to solve the problem of too many candidates. In the cell meeting (I was there and heard it all) Richard Shigemitsu of local 137 was selected as the party candidate to run with Harry Kamoku of the Hilo Union, Local 136. Other party members were ordered to decline in favor of Shigemitsu. In obedience to the order Jack Kawano and Joseph Kealalio and Ben Kaahawinui declined nominations. The next problem was to get the rank and file of the union to vote for the party candidates rather than for the non-Communists. There were two such non-Communist candidates on the ballot, Yoruku Fukuda, long time executive board member of local 137, later cochairman with Marshall McEuen of ILWU-PAC, and a Mr. Hoopili. Fukuda was popular because he was an oldtimer, coolheaded, intelligent, and one of those who did much to build the ILWU in the early days. Shigemitsu on the other hand, was hotheaded, arbitrary and abusive. He was particularly unpopular with the Japanese because whenever they were slow to accept or understand his Communist propaganda he would call them "Buddaheads" and other uncomplimentary names.

At the cell meeting it was decided, however, that all party members were to "go all out" for Harry Kamoku and Richard Shigemitsu. The popularity of Kawano, "Big Nose" Kaahawinui, Levi Kealoha, and John Elias did the job for Shigemitsu. All the above-named Communists pleaded with the workers to vote for Kamoku and Shigemitsu. The result was that Kamoku and Shigemitsu went to the conference of the Committee for Maritime Unity as longshore delegates. The party discipline and organization won against popular candidates with no machine backing.

The story I have just told you is important because it gives a good example of the technique by which the Communist Party, though small in membership, can and does control the ILWU here, a union claiming between 30,000 and 40,000 members. Until the rank and file understand the Communist Party methods of control, and learn to combat them by counterorganization, the Communist Party will continue its control. In sugar, in pineapple, and in PAC similar methods were used with the same results.

Returning to these Oahu Communist cells, another was the Punchbowl group. It was composed of office workers and so-called intellectuals. David Hyun, a

young Korean, was the leader of the group and its delegate to the executive board of the Communist Party. I have no information about this group except that Hyun definitely did represent the group on the executive board.

Out in the country there was the Waipahu group, including Tadashi Castner Ogawa, president of the sugar local 145, unit No. 1, and "Major" Hideo Okada, secretary-treasurer of the local. Another party member of this group assigned to build up the Communist Party in Kahuku was Harry Shigemitsu, brother of Richard. He, too, was a business agent.

On the other islands there are Communist Party cells. On Kauai the group includes Robert Kunimura, president, of the Kauai sugar local, No. 149, whose election was planned and achieved by the party last year. Another is Yoshikazu Morimoto, secretary-treasurer of local 149. Under the new consolidation which has recently taken place, two new business agents were appointed for Kauai. I know both are Communists because I got to know them in the party. In fact, they were recruited just before I resigned, Slim Shimizu and Frank Silva, the latter once a field luna on McBryde plantation. Here's the picture for you. The Communist Party plans to put party members into key union positions, especially positions with salaries attached, and always succeeds because there is no organized opposition, not even any knowledge among most of the members about the party and how it works.

Sometimes an intelligent non-Communist who believes in the American way and has helped build the union, wants to serve the union in an official capacity. Take Representative Matsuki Arashiro, who long before the war was president of the McBryde sugar local. He would have liked to have been appointed secretary-treasurer or business agent on Kauai. But he was not a member of the Communist Party and he would not join. I know, because I asked him to join. And I didn't ask him just because I felt like it. He was discussed as a prospect by the party and it was decided he should be contacted. He made no response. Therefore the Communist Party could not trust him to take orders. Instead, Morimoto was made the principal representative on Kauai. Arashiro was passed over again when Shimizu and Silva were appointed to paid positions.

On the big island the Communist group was composed of Harry Kamoku, president of ILWU, local 136, Bert Nakano, secretary-treasurer of local 136, and Yasuki Arakaki, who was president of the Olaa Local 148. Arakaki was a fine example of party missionary worker. For a long time he was violently opposed to the tactics of Jack Hall and Frank Thompson, international representative. He was against consolidation of the locals and bitterly resented dictation by Hall and Thompson. Something had to be done about him. Early in 1946 12 ILWU people were hand-picked by Comrade Jack Hall, regional director of ILWU, to go to San Francisco for training, not to mention indoctrination. Hall, assisted by McElrath and other top union leaders, who, of course, were also top party members, made up a list of union members who were either Communists or good prospects for the party. Arakaki had militance and intelligence. Inside the party he could be very useful. Outside the party he could be, and was, a trouble maker. Therefore, he must be recruited and then made subject to party discipline. So he and Thomas Yagi, secretary-treasurer of local 144 (Maui), both non-Communists, were selected to go to San Francisco to undergo training for union leadership. The night before Arakaki left on the boat, Kimoto and Charles and Eileen Fujimoto talked to him until 3 o'clock in the morning. Finally they persuaded him to join the party. The argument that won him over was that joining the party was the only way to control Hall and Thompson because they, too, were subject to party discipline. I was not present during Arakaki's conversion to communism. I only know what the Fujimotos themselves told me about his conversion and that he has since been a party comrade.

When he arrived in San Francisco, he was made much of, had his picture and an article in the *Dispatcher*, official organ of the international union. Overnight he became a big shot. More important, he now obeys orders without question. However, the party was not successful in converting Yagi. Morimoto, then a recent convert, told me that the reason the party could not get Yagi was because he was a Roman Catholic.

That, I think, is sufficient about the party cells. A little should be added about the structure of the party in Hawaii, which follows the mainland pattern. Each cell or group elects a delegate to the executive board which is the supreme authority in Hawaii, but in turn is responsible to California. Before I resigned in November 1946, the executive board of the Communist Party in Hawaii was as follows: Denichi Jack Kimoto, chairman; Dr. John Reinecke, treasurer; also James Freeman, Mrs. Ah Quong, (Robert) McElrath, Jack H. Kawano, Charles Fujimoto, Eileen Fujimoto, Ralph Vossbrink, and David Hyun. James Freeman

was the full-time party organizer for the Territory and was sent from California to do party work exclusively.

The executive board elects a smaller secretariat to carry on between meetings of the executive board. In 1946 it consisted of Dr. John Reinecke, Kimoto, and James Freeman. It made decisions which could not wait until regular executive board meetings. In addition to those on the regular executive board, Jack Hall, Robert McElrath, and other important party members such as Henry Schmidt, are called in when more important and immediate problems are up for discussion. Also, outside island members, such as Arakaki, Kamoku, and Morimoto, attend meetings of the executive board when the unions they represent send them to Honolulu and pay their expenses. We might say that the union feeds the party and in return the party controls the union in the interests of party policies and objectives. These policies and objectives, of course, are geared to the policies and objectives of the Soviet Union. If the one changes, the other changes.

## ANNEX 2

### TOSO (STRIFE)

Published by Maui Doshi Seinen Kai

(This publication was issued in the Japanese and English languages by the Maui Doshi Seinen Kai, a society which existed on the island of Maui. Presented below are selected translations from two issues of Toso which appeared in 1933-34. In addition, digests of other articles are set forth.)

[Issue of May 25, 1933]

#### THE SONG OF THE MAUI DOSHI KAI

Stirring and arising from a deep sleep  
Like a storm, the masses,  
Standing up and holding hands, form a union,  
This is our Doshi Kai.  
Standing up and holding hands, form a union,  
This is our Doshi Kai.

Farmers with hoes in hand  
Complacently work from morn to night,  
But the price of labor is bone and skin.  
Awaken, poverty stricken laborers!  
The price of labor is bone and skin.  
Awaken, poverty stricken laborers!

Our mothers to the last  
Demand our freedom.  
Should we not become free,  
We would rather fight to the last.  
Should we not become free,  
We would rather fight to the last.

Oh, dawn is approaching!  
Oh, dawn is approaching!  
The strength of one is weak,  
But the strength of the masses is great.  
The strength of one is weak,  
But the strength of the masses is great.

#### PREFACE

*Popularization of the movement in Hawaii—how should the movement in Hawaii be promoted?*

The proletarian youth movement should not be directed toward the Socialists and the somewhat aroused and conscious laborers alone. It should also be directed towards the laborers, who are suffering from political oppression in this modern capitalistic society, to arouse and accelerate their political dissatisfaction and discontent. It should be offensively promoted into a popular, systematized undertaking by exposing the scandalous crimes of the ruling classes.

Judging from the conditions in Hawaii today, [we find that] the poverty of the laborers and their discontent, dissatisfaction and antagonism toward the

capitalistic administration of today are greater, if not worse, than in other countries. Although they are demanding various resistance against present-day society, there are no good leaders and popular organs, based on Marxism, to lead and urge them on. The unemployed Filipino demonstration, the movement to get a lower electric rate for laborers, the demand for higher pay of the Japanese unemployment relief workers and the opposition against the dollar a month tuition for high school students are excellent opportunities for the recruiting of laborers and students into our organization. In spite of this, the proletarian organizations in Hawaii are indifferent to these facts and are making no effort to popularize the Marxist movement through the execution of these problems.

Through this organ, through study groups and lectures and, going a step further, through practice, we should accelerate the antagonism against present-day society appearing in various forms and shapes and work on the widespread oppressed masses with a conscious and planned leadership and a movement, based on the guiding spirit of Marxism and Leninism, thus making our contact with them as intimate as possible through it.

Only when this class mission is carried out will the consolidation of the unorganized laboring masses of Hawaii will be possible. And that task will, of necessity, be a task that must be carried out by proletarian youth. Therefore, based on a popular foundation, this organization should endeavor to create a foothold within student, youth, and other organizations and plan to keep in touch with and unite with them. We should not merely restrict ourselves to an interest in Marxism and in the various problems in Hawaii, but should manifest our determination to participate courageously in this movement and carry out the mission as members of the proletarian movement in Hawaii.

#### *Brief comments on Hawaiian events*

Strikes are gradually beginning to take place in various places in Hawaii. The Filipino strikes at Aiea and Waianae are examples. Although they [the laborers] have been driven like horses and cows for 10 hours [a day] and have been receiving 70 or 80 cents a day, it is rather strange that they have remained silent until today. Furthermore, since unemployment is constantly increasing, there is no telling when an incident may occur in Hawaii. Even on the mainland lately, strikes are breaking out in various localities, and it appears that they, for the most part, have been successful. The revolutionary workers of Hawaii should not miss the opportunity to win over the masses. Regardless of how small a movement, it should be directly supported if it is a problem that concerns the interests of the proletariat.

The workers engaged in unemployment relief projects have had their wages reduced by 15 percent and their work to 4 days a week. Furthermore, since a portion of their wages is taxed, the poor are suffering by becoming poorer. Since they are gradually awakening to what they are, the revolutionary workers who have infiltrated the relief projects should establish liaison with the secretariat of this magazine and start a movement to win over the unorganized laborers.

In view of the times, the antihigh school \$10 tuition movement, started with the Maui Doshi Kai as leader, is a movement that cannot be ignored. Since it has already passed the lower house [of the legislature] an "anti" resolution should be forwarded to the Governor to protest against the high-handed oppression against the proletarian citizens. Since this is a movement not only of the Maui Doshi Kai, but also of the proletarian students of Hawaii, it is a movement in which the comrades on each island should unite and take part. Fighters of the Hibana and the Hawaii Yuai Kai, rouse yourselves into action.

The picnic of the Maui Doshi Kai was indeed colossal. The Maui Doshi Kai is the only popular organization in Hawaii. Its revolutionary leaders should guide the masses under the guiding principles of Marxism and Leninism, and through the efforts of its revolutionary leaders, the organization will become a revolutionary one and will be able to win over the greater portion of the masses.

## THE TRUE COLORS OF A BUDDHIST PRIEST

By Yoshiyama of Wailuku

None disturbs revolutionary organizations  
 As much as Buddhist priests and Christian ministers,  
 Who flatter capitalists for money  
 And use spiritual blandishments towards laborers.  
 The opium called religion  
 Infiltrates the camps of laborers  
 And sows within laborers servile docility toward capitalists.  
 They [priests and ministers] outwardly shout for peace,  
 But inwardly advocate and protect imperialism.  
 That absolutely is for the protection of capitalists.  
 Under no circumstances  
 Should laborers be deceived by them.  
 Expose them and openly attack them for the class.  
 That is the task of the proletariat.  
 Joining with the bourgeoisie,  
 Religionists are dreadful reactionary elements  
 Who interfere with the proletarian movement.  
 To attain their ends, they spare no means.  
 This reactionary period is the time of action  
 Of religionists for the protection of capitalists.  
 Comrades.  
 Destruction of religion is a class mission  
 Assigned to the proletariat.  
 Criticism of religion is the preamble of all criticisms.  
 That saying should not be forgotten.  
 Under all circumstances,  
 Proletarians should be antireligious and atheistic.  
 The watchdog of the religionists,  
 That is the true colors of a Buddhist priest.  
 The disrupter of the proletarian movement,  
 That is the true colors of a Christian minister.  
 Comrades, be on the look out.

## CONGRATULATIONS ON THE PROGRESS OF THE MAUI DOSHI KAI

By Itomura

Our Maui Doshi Kai has seen 4 years since its birth and is showing a trend toward greater progress. Its combined picnic for all branches, an annual event, was held at Kuwao Beach on June 18 [1932] with an unprecedented success. Solidarity of those present truly manifested the power of a great organization \* \* \*.

Dear members, fight. The undertakings of the society were difficult to carry out while disturbing elements lurked within the society, but today we have created a harmonious laborers' organization by expelling these disturbing elements through the power of solidarity. And, with the great increase of new members, we have developed into the largest laborers' organization in Hawaii. I believe that, depending on the cooperation of the membership and the leadership, we certainly will be able to accomplish work worthy of a proletarian organization.

Hereafter, we should not meddle in mudslinging, but should march toward the main issue. What I would like to call attention to at this point is the winning over of the masses and the guiding spirit. Of course, it is of great importance to win over the masses in carrying out a proletarian movement. Such acts as those of the bureaucratic leaders, who would rather destroy laborers' organization for their personal gain, should be positively rejected. At the same time, to concentrate frenziedly on winning over the masses, but to forget completely the important guiding principle, would result in a meaningless movement. Hence, it is of great importance that the leaders utilize the proletarian guiding principle most effectively within the objective situation.

Besides conducting more research meetings at the various branches, the leaders should establish contact with the organizations of our comrades on the other islands and be careful not to err in the guidance of this large popular organization. Ignore the jealousy, insults and propaganda of the eccentric individuals and let our Doshi Kai reply to the public with action and power.

## ANTIWAR VIEW

By Fukuichi Akita

(Digest: This is a short story criticizing militarism and urging the laboring class to revolt. A Dr. Uyesugi gives a talk extolling militarism to a large crowd in a park. He explains death at the battlefield as a duty and honor and that those who have given up their sons are now living a life of ease. This remark is refuted by an old man, who has lost three sons. A youth, named Watanabe, sides with the old fellow and begins to make an antiwar speech. His subsequent arrest by the police results in a riot.)

## VARIOUS FUNCTIONS PERTAINING TO ANTIRELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA (1)

(Digest: This is a translation of a resolution adopted at the conference of the Militant Materialistic Dialecticians Society, held April 6-11, 1931, probably in Europe, and deals primarily with the functions of antireligious propaganda in Europe. It denounces the Christian religion and extolls the virtues of Soviet Russia.)

## BRANCH NEWS

## (Digest)

*At Huelo*

Membership gradually increasing. Marxist discussion meeting held middle of last month. About 30 were present.

*At Haiku*

Held general meeting and discussion meeting at Aragaki's home early part of this month. Discussed the significance of proletarian newspapers and analyzed the capitalistic society.

*At Kahaka*

Held discussion meeting at Aragaki's home early part of this month. About 30 were present. Significance of the existence of the Doshi Kai explained. About 20 new members obtained.

*At Upper Paia*

Discussion meeting held at Kyuyo Club. 14 were present. Manchurian incident and international problems explained.

*At Pulehu*

Discussion meeting held at Young Men's Hall. Present were mostly youths. Matters discussed were capitalism and production and international problems.

*At Keahua*

Discussion meeting held at Mr. Uku's home latter part of last month. Matters proletarians should know discussed. About 40, including women and children, present. Fairytales told to children.

*At Ulupalakua*

First discussion meeting held latter part of last month. About 14 present.

*At Makawao*

General meeting and discussion meeting held at Higa's home latter part of last month.

*At Kahului*

Discussion meeting held at Mr. Kochi's home.

*Lower Paia*

In the midst of a drive for members. To hold discussion meeting once a month.

*At Kula*

Five to six individuals, who had been deceived by the Hibana, joined.

*At Kapaula*

Many young comrades here. Interested in the development of the English section of Toso.

*At Wailuku*

No discussion meeting held this month.

*At Old Kailua*

Membership increasing since establishment of a discussion meeting for the youths. Second discussion meeting to be held early next month.

*At Puunene*

Discussion meeting held at a comrade's home early this month. Seven or eight were present. International problems explained.

## ADVERTISEMENT

(Digest: Here appears an advertisement encouraging the reading of the *Taiheiyo Rodosha* (Pacific Workers), organ of the Pacific Workers' Secretariat, and the *Rodo Shimbun* (Labor Newspaper), Japanese-language organ of the Communist Party of America.)

AN EXPOSÉ OF THE SO-CALLED NEW AMERICANS CONFERENCE. THE TRUE COLORS OF REVEREND OKUMURA, THE WATCHDOG OF THE PLANTATION ASSOCIATION

(Digest: The writer denounces Rev. Takie Okumura as a "spy watchdog of the HSPA" and an enemy of the Japanese working class. He claims that the young Americans are being imbued with militarism and capitalism through the New Americans Conference and are being deceived into becoming slave laborers of the plantation owners. He points to Reverend Okumura's activities as one of the reasons why Marxism and Leninism are against religion. He urges the revolutionary elements among the American citizens of Japanese ancestry to revolt and smash this movement.)

[Issue of May 25, 1933]

## ENGLISH SECTION

Toso of this date contains an eight-page section in the English language, dealing with such topics as:

Political Economy

Does Capitalistic Society Remain Unchanged Throughout the Whole Period of Existence?

Difference Between Marxism and Leninism

Lenin's Leaflet to Russian Workers (continued from last issue)

The last four paragraphs of Lenin's Leaflet, as presented by Toso, are reproduced below:

"Let us wish for our brothers in other countries, that their fight may very soon result in the desired victory; that the time may soon come when there are neither masters nor slaves, neither capitalists nor workers, when all will work equally and all will enjoy life reasonably and on equal terms.

"Comrades, if we act unitedly and harmoniously, the time is not far distant when we, also, in firmly welded ranks, shall be able, without distinction of race or creed, openly to join this common fight of all the workers of all countries against the capitalists in the whole world.

"Our muscular arm will be raised and the shameful chains of slavery will fall; the working people of our Russian country will rise, and the capitalists and all other enemies of the working class will be filled with terror.

"Comrades! The crises of capitalism are deepening day by day, and the conflict of the present social system are known by every workingmen who are in a poor condition. Now it is the best time to fight against the capitalists. Wake up every proletariat!"

[Issue of April-May 1934]

This issue of Toso contains many items extolling the virtues of Soviet Russia and features the writings of a number of contemporary Russian Communists. Among such items are:

(A) A translation of Molotov's speech, "The 16th Anniversary of the October Revolution."

(B) A translation of the first chapter of a book *Capitalism*, written by Govlenko [phonetic], presented in Toso under the caption, "Proletarian Political Science."

(C) The first of a series on daily life in Farm-Labor Russia.

A lengthy article, not reproduced in this appendix, presents a plan for "Organizing and Strengthening the Proletarian Movement in Hawaii." It provides a

plan for organizing Marxists into basic units (cells), for having district committees on each major island, and for establishing a Territorial central committee. The article argues the need for recruiting new members and for the distribution at cost of Marxist and Communist newspapers to workers on the plantations and in the cities. It is further urged that "the comrades on Maui should take positive action to join the Maui Doshi Kai," which should have representation on the central committee of the Territory-wide Marxist organization.

Concerning the observance of May 1 each year, another article argues that Lei Day (May 1) in Hawaii is a capitalist institution "to benumb the dissatisfaction of the workers," whereas in Socialist countries May 1 is "the day to hold a world demonstration to show international brotherhood and class unity of the workers of the world." The article concludes:

"\* \* \* From a class point of view, we Japanese should take joint action with them [the Filipino workers] and make every effort to abolish Lei Day and to inaugurate May Day in Hawaii."

The balance of this annex contains translations of other articles in the April-May 1934 issue.

#### PREFACE

The bourgeois nations of the world all are clamoring for an imperialistic war. The armament expansion of the bourgeois governments greatly thickens the dark clouds of burglary war, and it must be said that it is indeed very regrettable that even the proletarian masses are blindly following the bourgeoisie and are clamoring for a bourgeois war.

An imperialistic war is a burglary war of the bourgeoisie, whose aim is the depredation of colonial settlements. Through this desperate measure, the capitalists, adopting a policy to tide them over their own panic and prey upon the proletarian masses, will loot the colonial settlements. The Manchurian problem in the Orient is a historical fact that proves this. The fact that a bourgeois war is nothing but a scheme to expand the rights and interests of capitalists who prey upon the working masses, should be readily understood from the bitter experience of the European War [1914-18], and the sufferings our farmers and laborers experienced as a result of it are still fresh in the minds of all. The bourgeoisie is again attempting to bring upon the working masses these sufferings. Knowing or not knowing this, the laboring masses appear to be intoxicated with joy for war. It is indeed shameful that the laboring masses are in such an apathetic state and are carrying out anticlass actions, and it consequently means nothing but the shackling of the proletarian class.

What should we proletarians, confronted by this crisis, do? This is a serious problem. The proletariat of every nation should band together under the banner of Marxism to reject flatly the burglary policy of the bourgeoisie and undertake an antiwar demonstration at this time, and they should protect Soviet Russia, the fatherland of farmers and laborers, and support the development of Soviet China. This is the problem cast before the eyes of the laboring masses. If this movement is ignored, the freedom of the proletariat cannot be realized.

PROTECT FARM-LABOR RUSSIA, THE FATHERLAND OF  
FARMERS AND LABORERS. IMPERIALISTS ARE  
NOW ATTACKING THE SOVIET UNION

By Meisei Okada

(This article is a stinging denunciation of Japan, the United States, and of European countries, such as France, Germany, and Italy, for their attitude toward Russia. The opening and closing paragraphs have been translated in full.)

Dear comrades, 16 years have passed since the founding of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the proletarians, and through the untiring struggle of you dear comrades she has developed day by day into a state not permitting the optimism of the bourgeoisie. The 5-year plan has been accomplished successfully, and the second 5-year plan will show to the world the further greatness of the Soviet Union. As a result, the life of our comrades in that country will be improved; the uneducated will be educated; the unemployed will be given work; the farmers will be given land; and hospitals for the sick, who will be given scientific treatment, will be built. Besides, owing to the fact that she [Russia] is carrying out a peace policy externally, the burglary policy of the bourgeoisie has been made difficult [to execute] and their abominable measures are being thoroughly exposed to the public. The capitalists, who have come to realize that

the Soviet Union runs counter to the bourgeois ideology, lately have been actively attacking Soviet Russia and are planning to force war upon Russia when the opportunity presents, and [then to] partition Russia. For this purpose they are attempting to prey upon the numerous proletarians.

\* \* \* \* \*

Through Molotov's statement, we are able to see what attitude Soviet Russia is planning to take against the various bourgeois nations surrounding her like wolves and we know that the results are proving the righteousness of Soviet Russia. Dear comrades in various localities, at such a time, we, as members of the proletariat, should protect Soviet Russia, which is protecting our rights and interests. That is the class mission assigned to each and every one of us. Now, what measures should we in Hawaii take to protect Soviet Russia? The task of the comrades in Hawaii should be to take advantage of every opportunity to make the people understand the righteousness of Soviet Russia, to expose the policies of the capitalists, to internationalize the proletarian movement in Hawaii by winning over as many comrades as possible and, taking a step further, to make it more revolutionary. This is the class mission assigned to us.

Rise, you comrades on the various islands of Hawaii!

Unite, workers of Hawaii!

Unite, workers of the world!

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF TOSO  
THE AGGRAVATION OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN HAWAII  
IS THE IMPORTANT MISSION OF TOSO

By Hisakichi Muneyama

It was in April of last year that our Toso was published with the class fighting spirit of revolutionary youth and the class support of the enthusiastic workers in various localities. It has published six issues since, and this month is its first anniversary. We are happy to publish and send to the comrades in the various localities this commemoration number to celebrate this memorable first anniversary and May Day.

When we review the proletarian movement of Toso for the past year, we realize that our efforts, from the international revolutionary standpoint, have been very insignificant. Of course, we exerted considerable effort among the first generation Japanese and achieved considerable success in the recruitment of comrades through the discussion meetings held in various localities. However, on discovering that our proletarian movement was not effective by directing it only toward the understanding portion of the workers, we began the publication of an English section as a first step toward the recruitment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry. On the other hand, we urged the purchasing and reading of proletarian literature written in English, but for several reasons it made no progress and resulted only in making a portion of the American citizens of Japanese ancestry understand. Such aspects as these, I believe, should be seriously reconsidered. Furthermore, some of the reasons contributing to the failure of our plan to make sufficient progress were as follows:

1. The inability to create circles within the camps because of interference with the discussion meetings held in the plantation camps.
2. The failure to promote an organized movement aimed at solidarity, because of unsatisfactory liaison with the young comrades on the other islands.
3. The failure to hold study meetings among our comrades systematically.
4. The impossibility of working thoroughly on the American citizens of Japanese ancestry.
5. The failure of the movement to develop into an international one because of inability to establish class contact with the fighters of other nationalities.
6. The counter-measures of bourgeois education given to our young boys and girls.

The above mentioned movements are the important tasks assigned to our Toso, and they are matters that should be absolutely realized regardless of the difficulties confronted. Fortunately, our comrades lately have come to reconsider these aspects and since they recognize the importance of the recruitment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry and the establishment of class liaison with young comrades on the other islands, they are making preparations for the holding of a delegates' conference and our movement eventually will become greatly revolutionized and organized through the efforts of our young comrades. The strengthening of the Hawaiian proletarian movement, which has failed

several times in the past, and its structure should be furthered into an international and revolutionary one through the liquidation of the bad aspects learned through bitter failures.

The workers of Hawaii, deprived of their freedom to a greater extent than the workers in any other country, are awaiting for the development of the proletarian movement. Consequently, we firmly believe that considerable results will be achieved should an international proletarian movement, supported by the unity of the revolutionary comrades, be carried out. On welcoming May Day and the first anniversary of Toso, we, young comrades in Hawaii, should band together more firmly and make the proletarian movement in Hawaii a revolutionary one.

#### LATE EDITORIAL NOTES

Through the enthusiastic support of the revolutionary workers of Hawaii, we have been able to present to you the first issue of the second volume of Toso.

The promotion of an international revolutionary labor movement and the aggravation of the class struggle in Hawaii have greatly increased the importance of the mission assigned to Toso. The class support and cooperation of you, the revolutionary workers, will enable the fulfillment of Toso's mission.

Take a copy of Toso to your projects, your factories, your villages, your plantations, your places of work and aboard ships.

#### ANNEX 3

(The material presented below was translated from Hibana (Spark), a publication in the Japanese language, vol. I, No. 1, issued June 1, 1932, at lower Paia, Maui, T. H. Its editor was Ginjiro "Hokusan" Arashiro.)

#### SONG OF THE RED BANNER

With the Red Banner hoisted high  
We pledge to go forward until we die,  
Either in prison or by guillotine.  
This is our song of farewell.  
Hoist the Red Banner high  
For under its shadow we pledge to die.  
Cowards, leave if you wish,  
But we will defend the Red Banner.

#### OUR PLEDGE TO THE FLAG

Sparks have already flown  
Out of the blast furnace  
Of several thousand degrees in temperature.  
Sparks have flown,  
Sparks of steel,  
To cut off the bourgeois chain  
Which has shackled the proletariat.  
Sparks to burn away  
Their rotten capitalistic spirit have flown.  
Sparks of steel have flown  
Above the heads of the slaves  
Who, shackled by impudence and personal considerations,  
Cannot raise their heads in front of gold.  
Have [they] been deprived of [their] weapon?  
Yes, the capitalists' weapon of gold has been taken.  
And have we been supplied with weapons?  
Yes, we have fought and won our weapon of steel,  
The power of the capitalists' gold,  
That is merely their legal toy,  
A toy that will be destroyed.  
Within the glorious camp  
Of the proletariat of the world  
Our flag has been hoisted.  
With the mission of breaking the yoke,  
Sparks have already flown.  
Sparks of steel will fly  
Until the evil hands  
Of exploitation are completely burned away.

## FIGHTING THE CURRENT

The bourgeois newspapers, as usual, are making irresponsible remarks, such as no reason exists for a Japanese-American war, nor a Russo-Japan war and so forth. It is, indeed, a pity that they can see no reason for a war between Japan and America or between Japan and Russia.

They were the ones who were advocating peace among mankind up to the eve of the world war. They should be ashamed of their eyes, which are covered by bourgeois ideology.

\* \* \* \* \*

Last month, we conducted discussion meeting at Haiku, Kahului, Paia, Kula, and the new development in Puunene. They were very serious gatherings and all exerted their utmost effort.

The reason for the existence of an organization is for the purpose of progress. To progress, it must be operated. Should the leaders possess no operational qualification, then, the reason for the existence of an organization becomes nil.

## LATE EDITORIAL NOTES

Comrades on the various islands, have patience, because when the new equipment comes, I'll have everything in fine shape. I extend my thanks to those courageous and noble-minded comrades who contributed materially and spiritually toward the publication of this pamphlet. Through your assistance, our flag has been hoisted.

This pamphlet is called Hibana. In Russian, it is Iskra. Iskra is a famous newspaper of the press period when Lenin and his group were the most active. Iskra is the immortal organ of the world's proletariat. This pamphlet was named after it.

This pamphlet will cause hot sparks from the furnace of 1,000 degrees temperature to splash against the bourgeois newspapers, with which the islands are replete. It will show no consideration to their opinions, which are absurd and which deceive the masses. Our Hibana, which receives no capitalistic pressure from within, truly stands on a foundation of freedom.

The faction connected with this pamphlet stands on Marxist principles and will not be shackled by monetary and other disgraceful and shameful conditions. To the proletariat such things are filthy. Those are what the bourgeoisie do.

## ANNEX 4

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE TERRITORY  
OF HAWAII

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PLAINTIFF VS. JOHN L. AKANA, DEFENDANT

Criminal No. 10,336 and other consolidated cases

## ORAL OPINION

HON. DELBERT E. METZGER, Judge.

At the conclusion of the hearing the court announced that it would enter a judgment of acquittal as to the remaining 34 defendants, 5 of the 39 defendants having been acquitted in former proceedings.

Defendants' counsel having made a lengthy statement and read a number of editorials from the Honolulu Advertiser and the Star-Bulletin published after the congressional Un-American Committee's hearing at which the defendants refused to answer questions upon the grounds of self-incrimination, and counsel having asked the court to instruct the United States attorney to bring these publications before the grand jury as contempt of court cases, the judge remarked:

"I don't advise the United States attorney as to his duties. Now, so far as you have made it known to me here, these matters all occurred before these cases were before this court. If counsel, or anyone else concerned, feel that they have been libeled or damaged in their profession by these articles or editorials, they would have their recourse. I don't feel that it is in any respect incumbent upon the court to inaugurate any proceedings of any sort to correct that kind of publication unless or until it gets into court in the form and nature which would bring some proceeding in court.

"This court has dealt with these cases just as it conceives the law to be in connection with them. The court certainly doesn't put approval on the matter of anyone being in a position where they find that it might incriminate them to answer whether they are a member of the Communist Party or in any way affiliated with it. I should hope that the defendants here would not get in a position of that sort again.

"The Communist Party, or any member of it, have their rights in courts of law of the land, according to the understanding of the court as to the meaning of the laws, but we all know that the Communist Party, no matter what good features there may be in the platform in certain of its respects, we know that it is in very ill standing throughout the United States. It was brought into the country originally from a foreign country, and it was brought in for the purposes of the government of the foreign country.

"Now, I don't know what the American Communist Party is or how much it differs from the Soviet Communist Party. I haven't concerned myself about that. But I do know that there hasn't been any way to explain to the American public that the American Communist Party is not an offshoot and under the direct control of the foreign Soviet Communist Party. And I know that there are many persons, not to mention the numerous publications in the United States, that consider the Communist Party inimical to the interests of America and the American people. So far as I am concerned, people who choose to may belong to it, but I just merely express the hope that none of our local people are contaminated and brought into ill will of others in the community by association with the Communist Party. It has engendered lots of ill will and hatred, and the only way that I know how that can ever be overcome is that the Communist Party, if it is a party, or the people who express themselves as being Communists, that they simply go out of that business and not flaunt it amongst others, because as long as they do, it is going to continue to make lots of trouble for many citizens, whether they are involved one way or the other in connection with them."

The court later extended these remarks by saying:

"Because of the fear and hatred of the American public toward communism there has grown a tendency and disposition to make laws toward its suppression and toward discovery of persons who are members of such organization or allied organizations; that Congress and other legislative bodies are adopting such suppressive measures, some of which may in time be very detrimental in general public interests, as they have a tendency to lead toward a police state of investigation and governance, a thing abhorrent to the American people. Communistic propaganda in the United States certainly tends to promote such laws as a means of immediate self-protection, and American adherents to communism should take heed as to what they are doing."

#### ANNEX 5

##### INTERPROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION (HONOLULU CHAPTER) AND HONOLULU FORUM

The Interprofessional Association and its successor, the Honolulu Forum, existed in Honolulu during the period October 1937 to December 1941, and is of particular interest because it was the first large organization in Hawaii to follow the Communist Party line and because it was the Honolulu affiliate of the National Interprofessional Association, which was classified as a Communist front by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1938 and by a similar California committee in 1948. Dr. John E. Reinecke, a member of the prewar central committee of the Communist Party of Hawaii, was the moving spirit in organizing and maintaining the Honolulu chapter.

The aims and purposes of the organization, as stated on its membership cards, were:

"To support the principles of democracy in every field; to combat fascism and all other undemocratic movements in whatever field they may appear; to uphold the civil liberties of the people of Hawaii; to support actively the unionization of island workers; to encourage and work with other organizations committed to liberal and democratic principles; in short, to be a force for democracy and liberalism in Hawaii."

When applying for membership, the individual agreed to the foregoing principles of the organization and indicated his assent through his signature appended below the following paragraph which appeared on the opposite side of the card:

"I am in accord with the above principles and purposes and hereby apply for membership in the Honolulu Interprofessional Association."

The following statement of purposes is taken from the IPA's proposed constitution:

"1. The Honolulu chapter of the Interprofessional Association (hereinafter referred to as the chapter) is a chapter of the Interprofessional Association, a national organization. It therefore subscribes to the general policies of the Interprofessional Association, but reserves the power to act autonomously and with regard to local conditions and needs.

"2. The chapter is a nonpartisan organization. It is not affiliated with any political party, labor union, or other organization, but reserves the right to cooperate with any organization and to endorse such of its policies as the chapter deems worthy of support, without being committed to the program of that organization.

"3. It is the policy of the chapter: to support the principles of democracy in every field; to combat fascism and all undemocratic movements in whatever field they appear; to uphold the civil liberties of the people of Hawaii; to support actively unionization of Hawaiian Island workers; to encourage and work with other organizations committed to liberal and democratic principles; in short, to be a force for democracy and liberalism in Hawaii."

It will be noted that while the IPA was specifically dedicated to combating "fascism," it did not oppose communism. This is, of course, characteristic of pro-Communist organizations, and implies a willingness to accept one form of totalitarian government but not another.

In addition to the regular membership of the organization there was an associate membership for persons subscribing to the policies of the chapter but unable to attend meetings regularly. Like the active members, the associate members were required to pay regular dues, though they were not allowed to vote.

The dues of the Interprofessional Association were set at 50 cents for 6 months, payable semiannually.

When the Territorial legislature was in session the IPA waged a campaign to defeat certain legislation, notably a bill that would require an oath of allegiance from public employees and a proposal for an antisabotage statute. Such legislation traditionally has been opposed by the Communist Party and its satellites.

The IPA espoused the cause of labor and rendered financial and moral assistance to local labor unions and their leaders, but its legislative program was largely negative in character. At one IPA meeting the sentiment was expressed by a majority of members present that, during the legislative session then in progress, the main effort of the IPA should be directed toward killing legislation rather than toward getting its own proposals enacted.

During the period 1938-40, the IPA generally met biweekly at the Honolulu YWCA and at times at the Church of the Crossroads. Meetings usually featured a talk by a competent speaker, such as a University of Hawaii professor, a visiting author, or a labor leader. In most instances these talks were followed by a question-and-answer discussion period. The general membership meetings sometimes were followed by smaller discussion group sessions at the homes of members.

The IPA was addressed on several occasions by Jack W. Hall and Jack H. Kawano, leading Communists in the local labor movement (who did not, however, openly reveal their Communist Party status), and by Francis H. Bartlett, Jr., a writer and "intellectual," whose Communist Party membership was announced at a IPA meeting.

Throughout its existence the IPA exhibited an unusually sympathetic interest in the Soviet Union, which was the subject of many talks before the organization. Other chief foreign topics of interest to the IPA were China and Spain. Anna Louise Strong, pro-Communist writer of international note, addressed the IPA. One of its members, Samuel Reischord, spoke on "Soviet Art." Dr. William H. Taylor of the University of Hawaii gave a talk about the Ukraine, "the bread basket of Russia." The pro-Russia bent of the IPA can be attributed partly to the fact that at least seven of its members had lived in or had visited Russia. No instance is known of the IPA's ever having taken a position contrary to the Communist "line," and it is known that the organization had an "anti-anti-Communist" characteristic, that is, it opposed those who criticized Russia or Communism, foreign or domestic.

It is significant to note that the membership of the IPA, Honolulu chapter, at one time or another included at least 20 persons who were at the time or who subsequently became Communist Party members. Prominent in the activities of the organization, and an officeholder during most of its existence, was Dr. John E. Reinecke, who was called before the House Un-American Activities Com-

mittee in April 1950, and refused to testify concerning his Communist activities. Dr. Reinecke and his wife, Aiko T. Reinecke, also a Communist, were charter members of the Honolulu chapter. They and two other Communists, Adele Kensinger and Ah Quon Leong, were active in directing the affairs of the IPA and in shaping its policies.

Many of the individuals who applied for membership in the IPA were sponsored by persons known to be Communists. It is interesting to note that in one instance Dr. Reinecke and Ah Quon Leong, another Communist Party member, sponsored the application of a University of Hawaii student who subsequently became a Communist Party member.

The IPA was made up of a fairly representative group of people from every walk of life, including housewives, students, members of the Armed Forces, and labor representatives, and was not, as its name implies, confined to the professional class.

The average attendance at meetings of the IPA at the height of its existence was about 80 persons, but interest later dropped off considerably and at times there were but 10 present. The organization increased in popularity from its inception until the start of the European war in September 1939, largely because its original program was not objectionable. However, during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the group's conformance to the Russian "line" alienated many regular attendants and caused the IPA to fall into increasing disrepute.

During June 1940, the IPA distributed printed "peace" notices through the mails. One such notice printed on a posted card, is quoted in full:

#### "IT'S NOT OUR WAR

"1. The present war is not purely one of right versus wrong. American sympathy for the Allies must not blind us to the fact that rival empires are fighting—as in 1914-18—for the control of colonies and for their own national interests. Insofar as the war is of this nature, there is neither reason nor excuse for American participation in it, regardless of its outcome.

"2. The claim of Great Britain that she is fighting primarily for the cause of democracy is belied by her refusal to grant democratic rights to the great majority of her subject peoples.

"3. If America is drawn into the war, the American democratic tradition (already attacked) will be the first casualty. We cannot serve democracy in the world if we sacrifice democracy at home.

"4. The immediate duty of America is to continue the task of building a wholesome civilization within our own borders. 'There is nothing in our present emergency'—to quote our President—'to justify a retreat, any retreat, from any of our social objectives'. But if we join the war, a retreat from the American way of life is inevitable.

"We must meet the fatalist propaganda, 'I wonder how long before we get in?' with the challenge: 'We're NOT getting in! It's not our war!'

"If you are among the 96 percent of Americans who want to stay out of the war: Pass this card along. Discuss it with friends. Get in touch with us and help maintain the will to remain neutral.

"Church of the Crossroads Peace Study Group and Interprofessional Association, Post Office Box 2402, Honolulu, Telephone 76002."

The foregoing message conforms exactly to the Communist Party propaganda line that was widely disseminated throughout the United States during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, August 1939, to June 1941. Telephone 76002 was the phone number of Dr. Reinecke. Little is known concerning the Church of the Crossroads Peace Study Group except that a number of IPA members were active in it. It appears to have been of short duration and to have been used by the IPA for the latter's purposes. The church group refused to join with the IPA in sending out a third propaganda message, according to a press report of June 22, 1940, which stated, in part:

"The third card in a series of three to have been mailed by the Church of the Crossroads Peace Study Group and the Interprofessional Association will not be sent—at least, not by the Crossroads group. \* \* \*

"Since a misunderstanding has arisen and since the executive board feels that there was no opportunity given the membership of the church to express its opinion and that there is a little, if any, religious significance to the statements, it was voted by the members of the executive board that the Interprofessional Association be asked to send out any further material under its own name only \* \* \*."

Monetary contributions were made by the IPA not only to local labor organizations but also to several national Communist-front organizations and to other groups favorably interested in causes then supported by the Communists. In one instance the sum of \$360 was remitted. Among the organizations with which the IPA cooperated were—

United American Spanish Aid Committee  
 Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade  
 American Friends of the Chinese People  
 Consejo Nacional, S. I. A.

Dr. Reinecke sent the Consejo Nacional the sum of \$14.30, stating that the IPA "should like to have [this money] used toward the settlement of Spanish refugees in Mexico."

As early as February 1938, the IPA sponsored parties and social events for the purpose of raising funds to aid the Loyalist cause in Spain. During the period of the Spanish Civil War, July 18, 1936, to March 29, 1939, a major project of all Communists in the United States was the raising of funds for the Loyalists. The IPA, for example, sponsored a party at the Pan-Pacific Union Building in Manoa Valley, Honolulu, on the night of February 12, 1938—Lincoln's Birthday—and it was announced that the proceeds of the event would be used for medical aid for the "Lincoln Battalion" (probably the Abraham Lincoln Brigade).

Another major project of the American Communists during the existence of the IPA was to give aid to China in its struggle against Japan. For this purpose, the Communists organized a number of fronts throughout the United States. One of these organizations, the American Friends of the Chinese People, had a branch in Honolulu. (See annex 6). The IPA is known to have held at least one dance and to have turned the proceeds thereof over to the American Friends of the Chinese People. It is significant to note that all identified local members of the latter organization were also members of the IPA.

The IPA went on record as approving the activities of individuals endeavoring to keep the United States out of the European war. Cables were sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, advising that the IPA favored lifting the embargo to permit the United States to sell munitions to the Spanish Loyalists. The January 4, 1940, issue of the Congressional Record, at page 47, reports that there was laid before the Senate a resolution, adopted by the Honolulu chapter of the IPA, requesting that the United States keep out of the European war. This resolution was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

In addition to the "peace" cards circulated by the IPA, copies of the foregoing resolution demanding that the United States keep out of any European conflict were prepared and distributed. It is of interest that the resolution adopted by the IPA bears a marked similarity to a resolution circulated by the Hilo Industrial Union Council of Hilo, T. H., of which Harry Lehua Kamoku was chairman. Kamoku was one of the earliest active members of the Communist Party in the Territory of Hawaii. It was Kamoku who suggested the adoption of such a resolution to Dr. Reinecke, who presented the matter to the IPA.

The IPA expressed its leanings toward labor by endeavoring to obtain the names of propertyowners who could, when necessary, furnish bail for arrested strikers. The organization likewise held various social events, the proceeds of which were contributed to the defense fund for certain Honolulu labor leaders who were arrested on charges growing out of labor actions. Prominent among these labor leaders was Jack W. Hall, one of the "Reluctant 39," who recently appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Honolulu and refused to testify concerning his Communist Party status. According to the reasoning of Reinecke, this use of IPA funds was in line with the policy of the organization, inasmuch as the IPA was definitely on the side of labor. Financial assistance was also given to the ILWU and donations were made to the strike fund during the Honolulu Rapid Transit strike of 1941. Moral assistance was also given the strikers in the form of stickers to be displayed on cars during the strike and by way of entertainment.

During 1938 Dr. Reinecke announced at an IPA meeting the formation of a new organization called the Progressive League, the purposes of which were to encourage and support progressive candidates for the legislature, and to aid in promoting liberal legislation, especially regarding labor. Dr. Reinecke advised the IPA membership that the organization had been represented at the meetings already held by the Progressive League. The IPA membership agreed. Thereafter the IPA participated in activities of the Progressive League, especially in

matters concerned with the National Labor Relations Board and with various labor unions.

On March 15, 1940, the IPA met jointly with the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. Dr. Reinecke spoke on labor problems in Hawaii and on the uphill struggle of organized labor in the Territory of Hawaii.

That the IPA's "agitation in behalf of neutrality" (to use Dr. Reinecke's term) was responsible for a loss of membership and for a falling public confidence in the organization will be seen from the letter reproduced below:

% 3571 PAHOA AVENUE,  
August 19, 1940.

DEAR ASSOCIATE: This letter is addressed to present and former members of the Inter-Professional Association and to several people who, although not formally members, have been interested in it.

During the first 2 years of its existence (1937-39) the IPA was interested chiefly in local problems. Its activity even in local affairs subjected it to some unfavorable criticism and pressure, which resulted in the inactivity of some members. Nevertheless the IPA until a few months ago maintained a fairly constant active membership and was, we believe, an organization of reasonable effectiveness in our community. Of recent months, however, the active membership has declined to so small a number that the time has come for the IPA to take serious stock of its program.

Some members have undoubtedly become inactive because their personal affairs or other organizational activities leave them no spare time. But on the whole, we surmise, it is the deepening cleavage of public opinion since September 1, 1939, that has most affected the IPA.

Our most active members have felt that the most immediate pressing task before a liberal group such as the IPA is agitation in behalf of neutrality; for in war time most of our democratic liberties would automatically be suppressed. With this in mind, the IPA sent out a series of postcards which aroused much comment, some of it highly unfavorable, some just as highly favorable. Incidentally this action has cost us the resignation, for different reasons, of four members.

Three courses are now open to the IPA. (1) It can go ahead as a militant organization agitating for neutrality and against measures which it feels will before a liberal group such as the IPA is agitation in behalf of neutrality; for in war time most of our democratic liberties would automatically be suppressed. With this in mind, the IPA sent out a series of postcards which aroused much comment, some of it highly unfavorable, some just as highly favorable. Incidentally this action has cost us the resignation, for different reasons, of four members.

(2) The IPA can become a mildly liberal discussion group, interested in local problems of not too controversial a nature. In this way it may do some good, meanwhile avoiding the most unfavorable forms of criticism and pressure. But this course, too, calls for an interested and active membership.

(3) The IPA can disband.

We are calling a special meeting at the Y. W. C. A. on Friday, August 23, at 7:30 p. m., to discuss and decide the future of the IPA. As a suggested starting point for discussion, we ask that you look over the attached memorandum of a letter which one of our members has proposed be sent to the Chicago Emergency Peace Mobilization (meeting August 31 to September 2).

If, because of other engagements, you cannot be present, will you please write us as fully as possible your candid opinion of what the course of the IPA should be.

Is the IPA important and useful enough to keep going?

If the IPA is to go on, what shall be its direction?

Is the IPA is to go on, how active a part can you play in keeping it going?

Sincerely yours,

\_\_\_\_\_, President.  
/S/ JOHN E. REINECKE,  
Corresponding Secretary.

#### "MEMO OF LETTER PROPOSED

"The IPA endorses the Chicago Emergency Peace Mobilization as a valuable move to reduce the war hysteria sweeping our country.

"The IPA believes there is no use in spending money for national defense if we do not deserve democracy at home.

"The IPA believes that democracy can best be served by avoiding commitments that would draw us into the present essentially imperialist struggle.

"The IPA while approving of adequate defense measures, and not opposed in principle to conscription, believes that the pending conscription bill will be of more use to regiment the Nation (particularly organized labor) than to provide an efficient armed force.

"The IPA opposes the use of our National Guard outside the borders of United States territory. It feels that the United States Government is not exerting sufficient efforts to build up a genuinely democratic front in the Americas against Fascist influence both European and American.

"The IPA opposes the numerous measures, either proposed or now in force, which have as their purpose or their tendency the limitation of civil liberties and democratic rights."

The foregoing letter was considered by the IPA membership at a meeting held August 23, 1940, at which time the majority voted to continue the IPA as a pressure group. Two members voted for dissolution of the organization, while two abstained from voting.

The IPA's disrepute in the community caused the members to change its name to the Honolulu Forum in 1941. After the German attack on Russia in June 1941, the IPA-Honolulu Forum organization abandoned its love of "neutrality" and called for all-out aid to the Allied cause, of which Soviet Russia was then a beleaguered member. At one of its last meetings before the United States entered the war, the organization or one of its members made available to those present copies of the People's World, west coast Communist newspaper. At the same meeting, Marshall L. McEuen, who was to become one of the "Reluctant 39" before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1950, spoke on the subject of "Capitalism".

As noted in the main report of the commission, formal Communist Party and front activities abruptly ceased on December 7, 1941, when Pearl Harbor was attacked. The Honolulu Forum went out of existence at the same time.

#### ANNEX 6

##### AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

The national organization of the above name, which had a chapter or affiliated group in Honolulu before the war, has been the subject of several investigations in mainland jurisdictions. In 1948, the California Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Friends of the Chinese People "as a Communist front."

The California Committee's Fourth Report (1948) contains considerable information about this organization. The following passages are quoted from that report (pp. 142-145):

"This Red front falls under the general heading of 'Pro-Communist Chinese Front Organizations.' The American Friends of the Chinese People was organized to support the Chinese Communist thrust against the National Chinese Government. Closely cooperating with this Communist group were Theater Arts Committee, League of Women Shoppers, American League for Peace and Democracy, Medical Bureau for Spain, Progressive Women's Council, International Workers Order, Workers Alliance, and the International Labor Defense.

"The Communist International has always been deeply interested in developments in China. It looks upon the revolutionary movement in China as an ally of the Russian revolution and a bulwark against attack upon the Soviet Union. Manuilsky declared that 'revolutionary China \* \* \* can become, in alliance with the U. S. S. R., the greatest world factor in far eastern politics \* \* \* In alliance with the world proletariat, with its vanguard—the Communist world party, China shall and will become the guardian of peace, the fighter against imperialist wars on the Pacific.'

"The Communist Party of the United States together with its various auxiliary front organizations, in carrying out the line laid down by the Communist International on China, has passed through various states in accordance with the variations in the relations between the Soviet Union and the Government of China. These activities, while proclaimed as being in behalf of the Chinese people, were at all times dictated by the current exigencies of Soviet diplomacy.

"The Friends of the Chinese People was launched January 4, 1933, to specialize in work in the Chinese field. In January 1934, the magazine China Today made

its first appearance. The word 'American' was added to the organization's name in 1935 as part of the general streamlining process during the Popular Front period. J. W. Phillips, Hansu Chan, and Frederick Spencer, were coeditors of *China Today*.

"Waldo Frank laid down the current Communist line in the December 1934 issue of *China Today*, protesting 'against American and European aid for Chiang Kai-shek.' The united front of the democracies against the Fascist aggressors, adopted by the Communist International after 1935, saw the American Friends of the Chinese People in a typical Communist 'about face.' *China Today* now started screaming for 'collective security' and declared that 'neutrality leads straight to war' and deplored the 'twilight of isolation.'

"This period was marked by friendliness between the government of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists. The February 1939 issue of *China Today* published an article entitled 'Two Fathers of Their Countries,' dealing with George Washington and Chiang Kai-shek.

"The Stalin-Hitler pact in August 1939, was the signal for another reversal of Communist policy in its Chinese fronts. The American Friends of the Chinese People and its collaborating organizations became vigorously antiwar, isolationist and antiadministration.

"In April of 1941 the Communists adopted a new attitude toward Chiang Kai-shek, raising the cry of national unity in China. Chiang had formed an 'Anti-Communist Northwest Military Council.' Other Communist-front organizations joined the American Friends of the Chinese People in its campaign of pressure upon the Chinese Government.

"Following Hitler's invasion of Russia in June, 1941, the American Friends of the Chinese People followed the other Communist fronts in an about-face in favor of war."

Inasmuch as the American Friends of the Chinese People, Honolulu chapter, has been out of existence for some years, no detailed investigation of it has been conducted by this commission. However, incidental to other inquiries, the commission has obtained information of value concerning this organization.

All persons known to the commission to have been connected with the local organization have been otherwise identified as being Communists or Communist sympathizers, and all such persons were also connected with the Honolulu chapter of the Interprofessional Association which is the subject of another section of this commission's report.

The Honolulu chapter of the American Friends of the Chinese People was in existence from around early 1938 to 1940. A principal activity of this Honolulu chapter was to support the Chinese against Japan's aggression. In this connection, a benefit dance was held "for the relief of Chinese victims of Japanese aggression." An admitted ex-Communist, active with the local group in early 1938, has explained that the organization "had a boycott Japan program."

Another main objective of the Honolulu chapter was to favor the Chinese Communist movement against the Kuomintang.

The Interprofessional Association cooperated with the American Friends of the Chinese People in connection with supporting the Chinese against Japan's aggression and in favoring the Chinese Communist movement against the Kuomintang.

#### ANNEX 7

##### HONOLULU LABOR CANTEEN

This organization came into being on August 5, 1945, with the opening of a center on Richards Street, Honolulu. One of the speakers on that occasion was Norval D. Welch, Jr., of the National Maritime Union. (Welch was identified as a Communist by one George W. Crosby in an affidavit filed with California Committee on Un-American Activities.) The canteen received support and financial aid from the Army, Navy, local business concerns, newspapers, fraternal and civic organizations, and churches. The idea for its formation originated with the local AFL and CIO labor leaders. Shortly after the canteen began operations, the AFL withdrew its support, leaving the CIO in control.

The stated purposes of the canteen were to promote harmonious relations among laborers, warworkers, service personnel, and Honolulu residents generally.

The canteen had no formal membership requirements and charged no dues. Its doors were open to anyone wishing to use its facilities. Its funds were obtained from contributions of individuals, organizations, business houses, the armed services and labor unions, particularly the ILWU. Most of its visitors were member of the Armed Forces.

Among the persons known to have been officers of the Canteen were:

Alice Hyun }  
Elizabeth Bristow } cochairmen  
Rudolph Eskovitz, vice preseident, 1946  
Eugenie "Genii" Guinier, director, 1945  
Jack Osakoda, director, 1946  
Eileen Fujimoto, secretary, 1946

In the early part of 1946, Osakoda took over the directorship from Mrs. Guinier at the invitation of Jack Kawano, ILWU leader who was a member of the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii in that year.

In carrying out its program the canteen conducted a weekly Sunday forum, maintained a library, conducted classes, and presented entertainment programs.

Among the topics discussed at the Sunday forums were:

Minority Groups in Our World  
China  
Strikes and Security  
Philippine Democracy  
Indonesia  
Soviet Union  
What's the Score on Demobilization?  
Korea Today  
United States Foreign Policy  
United States Domestic Policy  
Reconversion  
Political Action  
Racial Antagonism—An Aid to Fascism  
People's Education in Hawaii  
Communists in the Democratic Movement  
Freedom of Religious Worship

Some of the speakers who participated in the Sunday forums were:

Sgt. David Livingston, USA	Dr. John E. Reinecke
Marshall McEuen	Sgt. Fred Zeller, USA
Ralph Vossbrink	Jack Osakoda
Sgt. Joseph Nahem, USA	Sgt. Murray Crummins, USA
W. O. (jg.) Ewart Guinier, USA	Alan Silver, USA
Robert W. McElrath	Ah Quon McElrath
Sgt. Walter K. Rosen	Wilfred Oka
Jack W. Hall	Dr. John A. Rademaker

The discussion of the topic, Soviet Union, was led by Livingston, and the other speakers were Nahem and Guinier.

Classes conducted at the canteen included:

Economic History of Hawaii, Dr. Reinecke, instructor  
Labor Economics, Alan Silver, instructor  
Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure, Mrs. Guinier, instructor  
Current Labor Problems, Jack Karen, instructor  
How a Union Works, Sgt. Livingston, instructor, assisted by Jack Osakoda  
United States Minority Problems, Tom Dennis, instructor  
Current Events, Murray Crummins, instructor  
Trade Union Publicity, Lt. Sam Sale, USA, instructor  
History of the Soviet Union, Ewart Guinier, instructor

Although the Oahu Servicemen's Committee for Speedier Demobilization was not an official part of the Honolulu Labor Canteen, it used the facilities of the canteen. One of the canteen's Sunday-forum topics was, What's the Score on Demobilization? Upon dissolution of the demobilization committee, it gave one-third of its funds, about \$118, to the canteen.

Another organization which grew out of Sunday forums at the canteen was the Hawaii Association for Civic Unity. Many Communists active in the canteen infiltrated the new association.

Communist literature was made available at the canteen for anyone desiring to read it. Subscriptions to the Daily Worker were sold and this publication was used for reference in canteen classes. Petitions were posted calling for the

discontinuance of shipments of guns and ammunition to China and the ousting of Franco from power in Spain.

A choral group sponsored by the canteen presented a large number of Russian songs in its programs.

In addition to mainland Communists previously mentioned, some local Communists were active at the canteen. They included Dr. and Mrs. Reinecke, Charles K. Fujimoto, Eileen Fujimoto, Alice Hyun, Robert McElrath, Ah Quon McElrath, Adele Kensinger, and Jack Hall.

Some of the leftwing leaders of the Communist-inspired Hawaii Youth for Democracy, a student organization at the University of Hawaii, were also active at the canteen.

Others active in the canteen were members of the prewar Interprofessional Association (Honolulu chapter). The pro-Communist activities of the IPA are treated elsewhere in this report.

About June 1946, the canteen closed its Richards Street center and moved its records to the office of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union.

An outgrowth of the canteen was a labor school conducted in the evenings at McKinley High School, June 24 to July 29, 1946.

It is evident that few activities of the Honolulu Labor Canteen were free of Communist purpose or direction. However, this was not readily perceptible to most of those whose support and financial assistance enabled the canteen to operate.

#### ANNEX 8

##### OAHU SERVICEMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR SPEEDIER DEMOBILIZATION

A major worldwide program of the Communist International after World War II was to effect the weakening of the armed forces of the democratic nations while Soviet Russia remained militarily strong. A chief propaganda tactic used was to clamor for speedy demobilization of the Allied forces (other than the Russian). Many of the "bring our boys home now" movements in the United States were Communist inspired.

The Oahu Servicemen's Committee for Speedier Demobilization, which claimed a membership of 3,000 servicemen stationed in Hawaii, falls into the pattern of such Communist activity. Concerning this organization, Congressman George A. Dondero, in January 1946 made the following statement:

"The labor canteen in Honolulu, which has been a hotbed of Communist propaganda among the soldiers stationed in the vicinity, is today the headquarters of the so-called Oahu Servicemen's Committee for Speedier Demobilization. The head of this canteen is Ewart G. Guinier, a well-known New York Communist, fired by the New York Civil Service Commission in June 1942."

The servicemen's committee was formed in the latter part of 1945, shortly after the founding of the Honolulu Labor Canteen. Three of the figures prominent in its formation and activities were David Livingston, Ewart G. Guinier, and Joseph Nahem, all servicemen, whose activities in the labor canteen are covered in a separate appendix. Although the committee was not a part of the Honolulu Labor Canteen, there was a close alliance of work and thought of the two organizations. The committee used the facilities of the canteen for some of its meetings, and the canteen in turn sponsored on its Sunday forum, held December 9, 1945, the topic, What's the Score on Demobilization?

It is interesting to note that Livingston and Guinier were members of a committee of seven selected by the subject organization to go to Washington, D. C., to present the "GI point of view" to Congressmen. It is also noteworthy that Livingston, Guinier, and Nahem appeared at a Sunday forum, held December 2, 1945, sponsored by the canteen on the topic, Soviet Russia. The forum was presided over by Livingston, with Guinier and Nahem as speakers.

The committee actively agitated for demobilization by holding rallies at local military establishments, and on one occasion presented their "demands" personally to one of the highest ranking officers on Oahu. This activity in some instances led to the issuance of orders prohibiting demobilization demonstrations at military installations.

When the committee became defunct in early 1946, a balance of \$354.82 left in its treasury was divided into 3 equal parts and donated to the USO, the 1946 March of Dimes campaign, and the Honolulu Labor Canteen.

## ANNEX 9

## HAWAII ASSOCIATION FOR CIVIC UNITY

The Hawaii Association for Civic Unity was formed in November 1945 by a group ostensibly concerned with the problem of racial discrimination in the Hawaiian Islands. The organization was inspired by the existence of similar groups on the mainland and its purpose, to further civic unity, principally in the field of racial relations. The HACU came about as a result of forums held at the Honolulu Labor Canteen concerned with racial discrimination allegedly practiced at Hickam Field, Oahu. (The Honolulu Labor Canteen was an organization which followed the Communist Party line in many of its endeavors.)

The purposes of HACU were set out in the constitution as follows:

## "ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

"Section 1. The object of this association shall be the promotion of better understanding and unity among people of various racial, cultural, religious and national backgrounds.

"Section 2. The promotion of equality of opportunity.

"Section 3. The promotion of social progress and better standards of living.

"Section 4. The elimination of discrimination because of race, color, sex, creed, national origin, political belief or economic status."

Dues of the Hawaii Association for Civic Unity were set at \$1 a year and the membership during the time the organization was at its height reached nearly 200.

A HACU brochure entitled "Purposes and Program" contains the following additional information concerning the organization and its functions:

"How does it work?

"The HACU works for the attainment of its objective through:

"1. Research and study by the membership of those conditions in the community that tend to divide people into groups. The following committees have been created for this purpose: Race Relations, Health, Social Welfare, Legislation, Education, and Employment.

"2. Monthly bulletin summarizing the activities of the HACU and reports of the various committees.

"3. Forums and public meetings designed to disseminate information and to mobilize public support for action approved by the organization and programs of cultural nature designed to promote its objectives.

"4. Cooperation with other civic and social organizations in such activities which may be deemed constructive and wise by the HACU.

"5. Social action on specific issues of discrimination.

"6. Social functions designed to bring members and their guests together to promote better understanding."

The first meeting of the HACU was held at the Nuuanu Congregational Church at Honolulu, with the Rev. Mineo Katagiri acting as chairman. At this meeting Stanley Miyamoto was appointed chairman of the committee for the constitution. During the latter part of 1945 or early 1946, the HACU held a mass meeting which was attended by about 500 persons. Thereafter, meetings were held at least twice a year, at the call of the executive council. However, the executive council met monthly.

Officers of the Hawaii Association for Civic Unity were:

Stanley Miyamoto, president  
 Dr. John A. Rademaker, 1st vice president  
 Iwalani Mottl, 2d vice president  
 Robert Lester Buffins, treasurer  
 Nobuko Suzki, secretary

As is so often true with organizations of interest to the Communist Party, the officers and committee chairman of HACU were generally non-Communists. However, Communist influence was exerted upon the organization through Communist influence was exerted upon the organization through Communist Party members who sat on the executive council of HACU and who took an active part in the committee work and general meetings.

Dr. John E. Reinecke and Jack Denichi Kimoto, local Communists of long standing, were members of the executive council. The membership of the or-

ganization included about 25 Communists, some of the more prominent of whom were:

Ichiro Izuka	Peggy Uesugi
Adele Kensinger	Koichi Imori
Mrs. Eileen T. Fujimoto	Mrs. Ah Quon McElrath
Charles K. Fujimoto	Ralph Vossbrink

Though a wide membership was solicited, it is interesting to note that in one instance an application for membership by an individual known to be anti-Communist was vehemently opposed by the executive council. The strength of the Communist element in this organization is further evidenced by the relatively higher attendance of the left wing group at meetings concerned with the policies of the organization.

The HACU attempted to secure the enactment of a Fair Employment Practices Act, in order to minimize alleged racial discrimination in local labor matters. The members of the organization disagreed among themselves on the procedure to be followed. There was some opinion among certain members that an FEPA was not a satisfactory solution to the problem. HACU set out to improve certain local conditions, and succeeded in making some progress in this endeavor. The organization at times commended people for their efforts to improve racial relations.

By letter dated July 20, 1948, Nobuko Suzuki, secretary of HACU, notified all members that a meeting would be held on July 30, to act on the following proposals:

1. To dissolve the organization,
2. To dispose of the funds in its treasury, and
3. To dispose of its files, records, and correspondence.

The final meeting of HACU was held on July 30, 1948, at the Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu. Ralph V. Vossbrink, well known Honolulu Communist, acted as chairman. Among the other Communists were:

Dr. and Mrs. John E. Reinecke  
Mr. and Mrs. Charles K. Fujimoto  
Adele Kensinger, and  
Mrs. Robert W. McElrath

The major item of business concerned the disposition of the sum of slightly over \$600 in the treasury of the organization. A report of the executive council was laid before the meeting as the suggested basis for action in disposing of the funds. Among the recommended beneficiaries were the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist front organization; the Honolulu chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was then heavily infiltrated by Communists (including some of those also in HACU); and the widow of a Cuban Communist labor leader who recently had been killed. Action of the membership deleted the name of the Cuban lady from the list and added the Salvation Army Women's Home, of Honolulu, and the Honolulu Record, contemplated Communist-line publication whose first issue did not appear until several days after the dissolution of HACU.

After attending to certain administrative obligations concerned with finances, those in attendance voted to distribute the remaining funds as follows:

Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee-----	\$143. 60
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People-----	119. 66
Majors and Palikiko defense-----	119. 66
Church of the Crossroads-----	100. 00
Salvation Army Women's Home-----	47. 87
Honolulu Record-----	47. 86

The funds were later so distributed.

It was thereafter voted at the final meeting to deposit the records of HACU with the Archives of Hawaii, but that was not done.

The short history of HACU illustrates once again the manner in which an organization of intended high purpose can, through the perseverance of a small minority of Communists, be perverted to ends which ultimately negate the original intention of the majority. The dangers of domination of HACU by outside interests are not dangers that could be detected only after the fact, but were apparent to some members of the organization during its existence. In 1947 one respected and well-informed member of HACU expressed himself substantially as follows:

"Active in Honolulu are the ILWU-PAC and HACU, both of which appear to have a largely overlapping membership. There also appear to be a few key people who are prominent in both organizations and who seem to be doing the major portion of the work. Growing in this community is a conviction that the latter organization is merely a front for ILWU-PAC. This is an unfortunate development since many people with a more or less liberal and progressive point of view, who do not see exactly eye to eye with PAC, will refuse to become associated with HACU, for example, if they are convinced in their own minds that HACU is a captive of PAC. The meeting on February 24 made it appear that at any time PAC wishes to do so, it can call the tune in the civic unity organization."

## ANNEX 10

## HAWAII YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

The Hawaii Youth for Democracy (popularly known as the HYD) was active on the University of Hawaii campus during 1945-46. Although not directly affiliated with the American Youth for Democracy, it was a prototype of that organization. The American Youth for Democracy, the direct successor of the Young Communist League, has been the subject of numerous investigations by Federal and State agencies. The Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives in 1947 described the American Youth for Democracy as having been formed for the purpose "of exploiting to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, inexperience, and the craving to join which is characteristic of American college youth." The American Youth for Democracy was affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth which was formed in London in 1945 at the World Youth Council. At Prague in 1946 the World Federation of Democratic Youth was transformed into the International Union of Students.

The Hawaii Youth for Democracy was conceived by persons connected with the Honolulu Labor Canteen and subsequently encouraged by the Communist Party of Hawaii. Originally it was planned to form a branch of the national American Youth for Democracy at the University of Hawaii, but finally the name HYD was decided upon by a group of the local students, probably because the American Youth for Democracy had already been exposed as a Communist front. However, a comparison of the constitutions of the Hawaii Youth for Democracy and the American Youth for Democracy reveal many striking similarities. Such a comparison is set out at the close of this annex.

The "principles and purposes of the Hawaii Youth for Democracy, and constitution" were adopted October 5, 1945, and submitted to university authorities shortly thereafter. The following is quoted from the portion on principles and purposes:

"We align ourselves with all the other forces that are democratic, just and progressive, and we join hands with the youth of other lands in fighting everything that's reactionary and oppressive to the welfare of the mass as a whole.

"We pledge ourselves to continue to fight fascism because fascism means:

"The persecution of national and racial minorities.

"The suppression of creative expressions of people.

"The continuance of further aggressive wars.

"The exploitation of people.

"The stripping of people of popular liberties.

"But fascism does not end with the military defeat of Germany and Japan. Fascism does not end as long as we have anti-Negro practices, anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, labor-baiting, and red-baiting. Fascism will continue as long as we tolerate such bigotry.

*"World unity*

"We will work toward the ideals set forth in the Atlantic Charter. We will work toward making feasible the proper functioning of the UNO planned at San Francisco.

"We will aid the people of liberated countries in their course to determine their own form of government unhampered by forces attempting to suppress democratic government be granted to colonial countries.

*"Youth as the future of tomorrow*

"We urge youth to enter energetically into the political life of our community and Nation to pass legislation necessary to the welfare of the people.

*"Youth's Hawaii"*

"We look forward eagerly to a Hawaii free of discrimination—racial, social, religious, and otherwise.

"We firmly believe education is the safeguard of democracy. Probably nowhere else does the unique character of island society exist—where multiple racial, social and national groups live together in such a small area. Realizing this position we concert our energy even more to make Hawaii the ideal example of harmonious coexistence of the diverse groups—diverse as yet in their cultures, but united in their desire for democracy."

The stated aims of this organization are quoted from article II, section 1 of its constitution:

"The Hawaii Youth for Democracy is a character-building organization. Through education it aims to foster social consciousness and democratic action among the youth of Hawaii. It is dedicated to the preservation of the spirit of democracy and freedom."

That the actual aims of the organizations were somewhat different from those stated above is apparent from the nature of its activities.

On November 30, 1945, the HYD submitted an application for official recognition as a campus students' organization. On February 9, 1946, the organization was recognized on condition that article VI be deleted from its constitution. Article VI provided, "The organization shall issue such publications as is deemed necessary and take measures to insure their circulation."

The organization filed with the proper university authorities two rosters of members, but it is known that some students not listed on the rosters of members, but it is known that some students not listed on the rosters were or subsequently became active in HYD matters. The roster contains the names of several students, no longer enrolled at the University of Hawaii, who have been identified with Communist activities both in Hawaii and on the mainland.

While the HYD was active, it held its identified meetings on the university campus, usually once a week. However, undisclosed meetings of certain HYD personnel with Communists were held elsewhere and will be discussed later in this annex.

The HYD had an education committee, an activities committee, a finance committee, and a public relations committee. One of the projects of the education committee of HYD was stated as follows:

"Since international problems are of vital concern to youth today, the education committee will prepare full reports on the subjects listed below. These reports, when completed, will be published as newsletters for general distribution by the public relations committee. From these reports the activities committee will draw up programs of action for the HYD when necessary. The topics at present:

"American foreign policy

"The United Nations Organization

"Palestine

"The Levant States

"The Pan Arab movement

"The world colonial problem

"Mandates and international trusteeship

"Indonesia

"Indochina

"China

"Philippines

"Korea

"Puerto Rico

"Central America

"South America

"Greece

"Africa

"The right of the international trade union movement to representation in UNO

"Internationalization of the atomic bomb

"Occupation policies in Germany

"Occupation policies in Japan

"UNRRA

"The policy of extraterritoriality"

(It is significant that the countries named in the foregoing list are those whose governments Russia and her propagandists in the United States have criticized and attempted to undermine. Conversely, and also in conformity with the Communist line, certain foreign countries not subject to criticism by Russia and its followers are not listed, notably the U. S. S. R. itself and satellite Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, etc.)

Also in the HYD program was the proposal to "oppose every effort of Fascist-minded monopolists to destroy or weaken our democracy." There was, however, no opposition to communism expressed in the HYD program.

The activities of the HYD show the true purpose of the organization. Articles appearing in *Ka Leo O Hawaii*, the University of Hawaii student publication, reported the following HYD activities.

The HYD supported a campus movement to send a representative to the World Youth Council held in London in 1945, but the project was not begun in sufficient time to allow a representative to reach London in time for the council's meeting.

An announcement in *Ka Leo O Hawaii* by the student body president, an HYD member, reveals that the HYD was in charge of International Students Day which was sponsored on the campus by the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii. International Students Day was a worldwide movement commemorating the Prague students' resistance to the Nazis. (The ASUH—Associated Students of the University of Hawaii—is an organization to which all students of the university belong.)

A movement was started on the campus to send a representative from the university to attend the International Students Council to be held in Prague, November 18-23, 1945. A suggestion was made at a meeting of the student council of the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii that a former student of the University of Hawaii serving in the Armed Forces in Europe be sent to this World Student Conference. This suggestion was approved and a committee of three appointed to investigate. The three committeemen were HYD members. As a result of their efforts a member of the Armed Forces stationed in Europe was approved by the War Department and received permission of the State Department to attend the conference. (The meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, is variously referred to in *Ka Leo O Hawaii* as International Students Day, World Student Conference, World Student Congress and International Students Congress.) The University of Hawaii representative reported by letter that the Central Union of Czechoslovakia Students organized the International Students Congress for 1945 and that attempts had been made to set up a world organization of students, a student's exchange, an international press bureau, and a sports program. He also stated that Communist and Socialist elements were present at the Congress. The stimulus for all of the foregoing projects originated with the HYD.

In 1946, an HYD member whose mother and several uncles are Communists, attended an American Youth for Democracy conference in New York as the representative of the University of Hawaii organization.

In late April, 1946, the HYD sponsored a forum on the subject of Russian foreign policy. The speakers were Ralph V. Vossbrink, Dr. John A. Rademaker, assistant professor of sociology, and Dr. Allan F. Saunders, associate professor of history. The HYD was accused of having a completely one-sided forum with all speakers praising Soviet Russia. In defense the HYD maintained that the persons who had been invited to speak from the opposite viewpoint failed to attend.

Ichiro Izuka testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee that he attended a meeting of the executive committee of the Communist Party in 1946 at which it was decided that since the Kaimuki branch of the party had no direct concern with union activity (few of its members were ILWU personnel), it should be given responsibility for the development of HYD. Dr. John E. Reinecke and Charles K. Fujimoto were assigned to direct that activity. The results of the executive committee's decision are to be found in a Marxist discussion group that met weekly at the home of Charles K. Fujimoto during the summer of 1946. Dr. Reinecke also attended occasional meetings of that group and on one occasion he delivered a lecture on the labor movement in Hawaii. At another meeting Fujimoto distributed copies of the Communist Manifesto. Several who attended the Fujimoto discussion group were students at the University of Hawaii and officers in the HYD.

## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HAWAII YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY AND AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

## HAWAII YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

The name of this organization shall be The Hawaii Youth for Democracy. The official abbreviation of this organization shall be HYD (art. I, sec. 1).

*Aim*

The Hawaii Youth for Democracy is a character-building organization. Through education it aims to foster social consciousness and democratic action among the youth of Hawaii. It is dedicated to the preservation of the spirit of democracy and freedom (art. II, sec. 1).

*Membership rights and obligations*

Any regular University of Hawaii student, regardless of color, national origin, religious beliefs, or political affiliation, who accepts the purposes and principles of this organization may join (art. III, sec. 1).

The rights to participate in all activities and to receive all benefits of the organization shall be accorded to all members (art. III, sec. 5).

*Officers*

The following officers shall be elected from among the regular members by a majority vote at an annual meeting to be held in May:

- 1—Chairman
  - 2—Vice chairman
  - 3—Executive secretary
  - 4—Secretary-treasurer
- (art. IV, sec. 1).

*Revocation of members*

Membership in the Hawaii Youth for Democracy may be revoked if a member acts against the principles and general welfare of the organization (art. V, sec. 1).

Action to expel a member may be instituted by any member, and final revocation may be effected by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the hearing (art. V, sec. 2).

*Publications*

The organization shall issue such publications as is deemed necessary and take measures to insure their circulation (art. VI, sec. 1).

## AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

The name of this organization shall be the American Youth for Democracy (art. I, sec. 1).

*Object*

The American Youth for Democracy is a character-building organization dedicated to the education of youth in the spirit of democracy and freedom (art. II, sec. 1).

*Membership rights and obligations*

All young people, regardless of color, national origin, religious belief or political party affiliation who accept the program of the American Youth for Democracy, may join (art. III, sec. 1).

The right to participate in all activities and to receive all benefits of the organization shall be accorded to all members (art. III, sec. 3).

*National Council*

The national officers shall be:

- I. Two cochairmen
  - II. Two vice chairmen
  - III. An executive secretary
  - IV. A secretary-treasurer
- (art. VIII, sec. 4).

*Revocation of members*

Membership in the American Youth for Democracy may be revoked if a member acts against the principles and general welfare of the organization (art. IX, sec. 1).

Action to revoke membership may be instituted by any member. The club is empowered to expel any member by a majority vote, after a hearing has been granted to both sides. The state, regional or national councils have the right to expel any member under their jurisdiction, after a hearing has been granted to both sides (art. IX, sec. 2).

*Publications*

The national council is empowered to issue such publications as it deems necessary and take measures to insure their circulation (art. XII, sec. 1).

## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HAWAII YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY AND AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY—continued

*Parliamentary procedure*

When a question arises as to the parliamentary procedure to be taken, Robert's Rule of Orders will be followed as the final authority (art. VIII, sec. 1).

*Amendments*

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members of the organization (art. IX, sec. 1).

*National convention*

Subject to change by a majority vote of the convention, the convention shall be ruled by the order of business proposed by the national council, and shall adopt its own procedure and rules on all questions not governed by Roberts Rules of Order (art. VI, sec. 6).

*Amendments-special conventions-referendums*

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the national convention or by a majority vote of the membership in a national referendum (handwritten: "or by two-thirds vote of national council, such right to be limited until the next convention.").

## ANNEX 11

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (HONOLULU BRANCH)

This national organization, commonly referred to as the NAACP, had an active branch in Honolulu during the period 1946-49. Previous attempts to organize such a group in Honolulu were made about 1939 and again shortly after the war started, but were unsuccessful.

The purposes of the organization, as stated on its membership card, are:

"1. To educate America to accord full rights and opportunities to Negroes.

"2. To fight injustice in courts when based on race prejudice.

"3. To pass protective legislation in State and Nation and defeat discriminatory bills.

"4. To secure the vote for Negroes and teach its proper use.

"5. To stimulate the cultural life of Negroes.

"6. To stop lynching."

As has been the experience of a number of NAACP chapters, the Honolulu branch became an object of Communist infiltration. This activity by Communist Party members and sympathizers was noticeable in 1947, and by 1948 had become a matter of serious concern to non-Communists in the organization. The interest of Communists, who try continually to foment racial disunity under the guise of exposing alleged racial discrimination, is obvious.

The officers and directors of the Honolulu branch in 1948 included Negroes, Caucasians, and Japanese. Two of the 10 directors, Charles K. Fujimoto and Eileen N. Fujimoto, were members of the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii. Several other NAACP directors were affiliated with the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, principal postwar Communist front organization in Hawaii.

Dr. John E. Reinecke, a leading local Communist, took an active part in the local NAACP. Frank Marshall Davis, a writer of inflammatory racial articles for the Communist-line Honolulu Record, also has been affiliated with the organization.

In December, 1948, a local NAACP election was held in which Communist Party members and their collaborators attempted to gain full control of the organization. Two attempts were made to elect a president but each time 62 votes were cast—31 for the rightwing candidate and 31 for the leftwing candidate.

As a result of this deadlock, and realizing the Honolulu chapter of the NAACP was thoroughly infested with Communists and fellow travelers, Mrs. Catherine Christopher, the acting president, laid the matter before the board of directors of the national NAACP. That body, on November 14, 1949, voted to revoke the charter of the Honolulu branch of the NAACP. The reasons given were the failure to complete the holding of an election; the difference of the racial issues in Hawaii, as compared to mainland United States; and, because that difference and the distance of the Honolulu branch from the national office made it difficult to supervise the activities and program of the branch adequately and properly.

## ANNEX 12

## LIBERAL LEGISLATION LEAGUE

This organization, which existed in Honolulu from August 20, 1946, to May 23, 1947, is of interest because its formation appears to have been conceived by the Territorial CIO Political Action Committee to serve as a medium for furthering the aims of CIO-PAC in nonorganized labor circles. CIO-PAC was a Communist-controlled group. Six of its seven officers have been identified as members of the Communist Party.

The LLL was organized at a meeting held on August 20, 1946, by an organization tentatively called the Citizens Political Action Committee. Marshall McEuen opened this meeting by explaining that several people had expressed an interest in forming a citizens PAC and that he had called this meeting to discuss the formation of such an organization. He said that if a CPAC were formed it should exist independently of the CIO-PAC, as was the practice on the mainland, but that the two organizations could work closely together. At this meeting it was agreed that contact should be made with the National CPAC as soon as the local organization was formed. McEuen pointed out that the local CPAC could perform a useful service by supplying the local CIO-PAC with information concerning social injustices. The CIO-PAC, he said, would use that information to press for social improvements, but would protect the identity of its source of information.

Another meeting was held on August 27, 1946, with Marshall McEuen presiding. By a formal vote it was determined that the CPC should have no direct affiliation with the CIO-PAC. This followed McEuen's suggestion made at the previous meeting. Communists John E. Reinecke and Ah Quon McElrath, noted for their interest in political action, were present at this meeting.

At the September 3, 1946, meeting a committee of three was appointed to draft a constitution. It was determined that the organization should be an unaffiliated, nonpartisan group, with the purpose of carrying out a liberal social-legislative program. A four-member policy committee was appointed.

The name "Liberal Legislation League" was formally adopted at the meeting of September 11, 1946, and the constitution of the organization adopted. A report was given by the chairman of the platform committee. A three-member committee was appointed to secure biographical data on candidates for the coming election. A member gave a report on a CIO-PAC meeting, stating that few candidates had committed themselves on the 1946 CIO-PAC platform. A permanent chairman, secretary, and treasurer were elected.

The object of the LLL, as stated in its constitution, was to protect, maintain, and promulgate legislation in the interest of the community.

At a meeting held September 20, 1946, a 3-member ways and means committee of the LLL was activated.

On October 11, 1946, the platform of the LLL, read at its meeting, was as follows:

- (a) A Territorial FEPC.
- (b) Civil-rights bill.
- (c) Revision of "regressive" tax laws so that those who can pay more do so. Establishment of a tax commission to make a thorough study of taxes.
- (d) Upward revision of the minimum-wage law to provide for an American standard of living—a standard compatible with decency and health.
- (e) Low-cost housing provided by the Government, by means of legislation assuring low-cost homes compatible with decency and health.

At an LLL meeting held November 1, 1946, donations were solicited to pay for a full-page advertisement to be placed in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on November 2, 1946. More than \$200 was collected and the necessary balance pledged. An officer of the LLL agreed to underwrite payment of the bill. The advertisement presented the replies of 30 candidates to certain questions which were designed to clarify their positions on issues then current in Hawaii. Among the questions asked of candidates were those concerning the LLL's proposals for "needed" legislation on civil rights and for a Fair Employment Practices Act. Other issues covered included statehood, housing, taxation, a minimum-wage law, and child-care centers. The proposed FEPA and civil-rights legislation were highly controversial issues. The Communist Party has made capital of such issues on the mainland in order to highlight racial discrimination as one of the "diseases" of our democracy. At the November 1 meeting it was reported that all non-Caucasian candidates favored the civil-rights and FEPA bills, but that

the Caucasian candidates stated either that no racial prejudice existed in Hawaii (hence there was no need for such legislation) or flatly opposed it. At the same meeting study group chairmen were named to head committees on taxation and expenditure, health and welfare, education, industrial relations, and citizens' rights.

For 3 months after election day, 1946, the organization held no meetings. However, it conducted an analysis of election results and worked on a program to be presented to the 1947 legislature.

The next meeting of LLL was held on February 14, 1947. It was voted to accept the offer of the CIO-PAC to provide radio time for an LLL program on February 16. The script for this program was prepared by three of the most active LLL members. At this meeting an LLL member stated that he would attempt to gain the support of the American Veterans Committee, Chapter 1, of Honolulu, for the LLL's proposed legislative rules.

The last meeting of the LLL was held on May 23, 1947. It was decided to suspend all meetings during the summer and replace them with a study group that would plan a future LLL program. A professor at the University of Hawaii had been contacted by two representatives of the LLL and had prepared a course of reading for such study group.

Sixty-three persons have been identified with this organization. Six have been identified as Communists. However, non-Communists held nearly all the offices and committee assignments. However, this did not prevent the LLL's being used to serve the purposes for which it was conceived by CIO-PAC, acting through Marshall McEuen.

#### ANNEX 13

#### PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

#### INTRODUCTORY

For the purpose of this report, the educational field of the Territory of Hawaii is divided into five categories:

- (a) Department of public instruction.
- (b) University of Hawaii, including extension division.
- (c) Adult education.
- (d) Private schools, kindergarten, grade, and high.
- (e) Private schools, miscellaneous.

In order that the reader may judge the extent to which education is of direct concern to pupils, parents, teachers, and employees of educational institutions in the Territory, and is therefore of indirect concern to all, certain statistics are presented below.

The following figures are approximate as of January 1, 1951 (except for the University of Hawaii, which is as of February 15, 1951):

	Number of schools	Employees	Pupils
(a) Department of public instruction.....	188	1 4,054	93,903
(b) University of Hawaii.....	1	840	5,690
(c) Adult education.....	59	2 365	5,709
(d) Private schools.....	110	1,162	24,200
(e) Private schools.....	75	175	3,500
Total.....	453	6,596	133,002

<sup>1</sup> Including approximately 3,500 teachers

<sup>2</sup> The majority of persons included in this figure also included in the 4,054 DPI employees.

As of September 1950, there were 17 teachers' and other affiliated organizations in the Territory, including the Hawaii Education Association with a membership of approximately 3,200 teachers.

The April-May-June, 1950, issue of the Parent-Teacher News Bulletin stated that there were 130 parent-teacher associations with membership of 39,180.

Because of the size of this field, and the limited time at the disposal of this commission, it was obvious at the outset that all types of schools could not be covered, so it was decided to concentrate on surveys of the University of Hawaii and the department of public instruction. Even in this restricted field only a preliminary investigation was practicable and this report should be considered

as a survey report and evaluated accordingly. The survey was conducted through the medium of interviews on all major islands, the study of official records, and the examination of witnesses under oath.

#### *Directives to Communist teachers*

The position of the Communist Party, with reference to the schools, was recorded in an issue of *The Communist*, formerly the official monthly organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A. Its editor, Earl Browder, was general secretary of the party. In it were published authoritative monographs expounding the party's philosophy and giving program directions for party activity. In its May 1937, issue *The Communist* carried an article stating:

"Party and YCL (Young Communist League) fractions set up within classes and departments must supplement and combat by means of discussions, brochures, etc., bourgeois omissions or distortions in the regular curriculum. Marxist-Leninist analysis must be injected into every class. In addition to this, serious education on immediate social problems and in Marxism-Leninism must be undertaken independently.

\* \* \* \* \*

"A peoples movement around the schools can thus transform the latter into popular forms for progressive social action, ultimately into forms for the revolution."

Obviously such a program could not be carried out openly, as such activity would lead to an exposure of the party. Therefore, in order to accomplish the desired results, without exposure, Communist teachers are instructed in the methods to be used. Following is quoted an article entitled, "The Schools and The People's Front," which also appeared in the May 1937, issue of *The Communist*:

"Communist teachers cannot afford to ignore this fact—that they are in contact with the children of the masses, that they are responsible for training these children. They must realize that the primary function of the school is to educate these children, and this will be true to a much greater extent in a socialist society than now. Communist teachers are, therefore, faced with a tremendous responsibility. They must consider not only their own teacher problems, but the problem of the children. They must fight for the latter. They must mobilize the other teachers in this fight. They must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working class education.

"To enable the teachers in the party to do the latter, the party must take careful steps to see that all teacher comrades are given thorough education in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism, will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teachings at the least risk of exposure and at the same time to conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner. [In Communist terminology the word "Bolshevik" implies great approbation, since the goal of the Communist is to equal the stern revolutionary zeal of the pre-1917 Russian Communists (Bolsheviks).] Such teachers can also be used to advantage to conduct classes in Marxism-Leninism for workers generally, and many such teachers should be assigned not to school units but to factories or industrial units, where they can be of great aid in party education, in helping with leaflets, shop papers, etc. Others can play an important role in the educational activities of the YCL."

This article further elaborates on the technique of disguised indoctrination, explaining the methods to be used in classes on literature, languages, history, geography, the natural sciences, and mathematics.

With reference to the relationship between Communist teachers and rural community activities, *The Communist* (May 1937) directs:

"In rural communities, teachers who are among the few educated people, are looked up to with tremendous respect. They are in a position to become community leaders.

"As a means of mobilizing the people in the villages and countryside, steps should be taken to try to send Communist teachers into rural communities where they could become active in all community organizations.

"The party should work actively within parent-teachers' association and all similar organizations."

#### *Department of Public Instruction*

Available information indicates the presence of subversive activity by a public school teacher in Hawaii as early as 1935. This evidence concerns John

Ernest Reinecke, then a teacher employed by the department of public instruction at Honokaa, island of Hawaii. He subsequently attained considerable prominence when he and his wife, Aiko T. Reinecke, were suspended from public teaching positions and later, after a hearing before the commissioners of public instruction, were dismissed.

The actions of Reinecke in connection with the Communist Party and with various front organizations are covered elsewhere. His activities while a public-school teacher received wide publicity in later years through the medium of public hearings of his dismissal case and the press and are a matter of official record. This commission, therefore, has not attempted to record in its report all information developed during those hearings. It suffices to say that the evidence at hand clearly establishes Reinecke to have been an important Communist Party leader in the Territory of Hawaii for more than a decade, and further establishes that Mrs. Reinecke shared her husband's communistic views and activities.

Reinecke was first employed by the Territory of Hawaii on September 1, 1927. During the period 1927-29 he was assigned as a teacher to Konawaena School on the island of Hawaii. During 1929-30 he was at Leilehua School on the island of Oahu. He was granted special leave from September 1, 1930, to August 31, 1931, and during that time he attended Yenching University in China. Reinecke returned to Honolulu in July 1931, and was assigned to Honokaa Junior High School, where he remained until the end of the 1935 school year.

Evidence introduced at his dismissal hearings established that Reinecke had, during 1935, corresponded with one Samuel Weinman, author of the pamphlet Hawaii, a Story of Imperialist Plunder. A letter dated May 29, 1935, addressed to "Dear Comrade Reinecke," signed, "S. Weinman" (Government exhibit No. 39), indicated that Reinecke had been collaborating with Weinman. In that letter Reinecke was asked to furnish "specific information concerning Hawaii" because it was needed by "another comrade." Some of the "pressing questions" to which answers were desired "at once" were:

"What is the condition of the peasantry? How many are there; how many acres each holding? \* \* \*

"You say the group has been studying the situation in Hawaii. What exactly have they been studying, and can we have copies of their collective studies for use here? \* \* \*

"Has the group formulated their ideas as to what is the next step in Hawaii? \* \* \*

"From here it seems to us that it is time to do more than study. Isn't it time that struggles were developed under the leadership of the CP group? \* \* \*

The following passages from the same letter may be relevant to the fact that a formal Communist Party organization was established in Hawaii about 2 or 3 years later:

"I received your letter, which I read with a great deal of interest. I expect to make a practical use of your list of contacts. Thanks \* \* \*

"We have discussed linking the Hawaiian movement to the one in the United States. We plan to do something definite about it shortly \* \* \*

"It would be well if you could get this letter into the hands of the CP group and have them communicate with us directly, telling us what we can do specifically to aid them."

The pamphlet Hawaii, A Story of Imperialist Plunder, which Reinecke admitted he had read, was published in 1934 by International Pamphlets, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y. A publishers' note on the back cover of the pamphlet states that it was prepared under the direction of Labor Research Association, whose address was determined to be 80 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y. Weinman's address, as shown on his letter to Reinecke, was room 634, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

The record of hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, 80th Congress, with reference to H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122 (bills to curb or outlaw the Communist Party in the United States), describes the sponsors of the Weinman pamphlet as follows:

"The Labor Research Association, 80 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y., publishes monthly the Economic News, sold and distributed through Communist bookshops. The Communist press frequently quotes from it. The association occasionally issues books which are published and distributed by the International Publishers of New York, the Communist publishing house. Its releases, service, and books are consistently along the Communist Party line, and they are as a rule timed with the party's agitation and pressure moves. \* \* \*

The Labor Research Association also has been authoritatively described as follows:

(A) Cited as subversive and as an affiliate of the Communist Party (Attorney General's letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947).

(B) A direct auxiliary of the Communist Party. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities Report, March 29, 1944, p. 47.)

(C) Cited as a completely Communist-controlled organization. (California Committee on Un-American Activities Report, 1948, p. 47.)

(D) "One of the creations of the Communist Party \* \* \* founded by Robert W. Dunn, a prominent Communist." (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities Report, 1938, p. 380.)

Report No. 309 of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, dated April, 1947, states:

"Within the year 1934 the following American Communists contributed articles to the International Press Correspondence (Imprecorr), official weekly press organ of the Communist International; \* \* \* Samuel Weinman. \* \* \*

International Press Correspondence was described by the same committee in a report dated January 3, 1939, as "The organ of the Communist International."

The Agit-Prop (agitation and propaganda) division of the Communist movement in the United States is of major importance to that movement. That division and its fronts operate publishing houses which issue books, pamphlets and other printed matter. It appears that Labor Research Association, International Pamphlets and International Press Correspondence were a part of this division. It follows that Weinman was a part of the Agi-Prop division of the Communist movement in the United States and that Reinecke apparently was a voluntary collaborator in its activity.

Excerpts are quoted below from Government Exhibit No. 11 of the Reinecke hearings, which received considerable publicity when introduced in evidence. The document, entitled "Section III—What Must We Do?" admittedly was written by Reinecke.

"V. The youth of Hawaii are at present scarcely aware of the economic and political movements going on throughout the world. Every effort must be bent to bring them to full class consciousness—to read understandingly and to see where they stand. Radical literature should be distributed and a bookstand established in Honolulu. Probably as soon as possible a newspaper should be established to express radical views.

"Close contacts between Hawaiian comrades and mainland centers should be established. Students going to the States should be contacted and propagandized on the mainland, so that some at least will return more than mere satisfied dentists and doctors."

Reinecke testified that he wrote the document in 1935, and the inference is that a bookstand for the distribution of radical (Communist) literature did not exist in Honolulu at that time. It may be only coincidental, but it is of interest, that the Hawaiian Book Exchange, also known as the Nuuanu Second-Hand Book Store, was established about the year 1936, and that Communist literature was available in a restricted upstairs section of this store.

Reinecke also testified at the hearings that he had made copies of New Masses available to students, and that the publication had a Marxist slant. Attorney General Francis Biddle is quoted in the Congressional Record, September 24, 1943, as referring to this publication as "Communist periodical." Other descriptions of New Masses are quoted herewith:

"Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party \* \* \* whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund)." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.)

"Until its recent merger with Mainstream, the New Masses has been the weekly journalistic voice of the Communist Party. Its first appearance was as a monthly. As the Masses, it was suppressed by the United States Government for its subversive policies." Mainstream was launched by the Communist Party in January 1947, dealing with the field of literature and creative arts. (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1947, p. 160 and 1948, p. 340.)

"Issued from Communist presses and distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass." (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities Reports, 1938, pp. 281 and 443.)

No evidence has come to the attention of the Commission that public school-teachers in the Territory now are imposing communistic doctrines upon students

in their classes, or that they are slanting class discussions of political and controversial issues to the left, or to their own views.

Obviously, a communistically slanted textbook would be of inestimable value to Communist teachers in their assigned task of injecting Marxism-Leninism into their classes. A survey of textbooks used by the Department of Public Instruction has not been undertaken by this Commission. However, it was noted that the Building America series of teaching materials, which the California Board of Education has banned for their pro-Communist content and authorship, still remains on the approved list for use in Hawaii's schools.

A survey of local pro-Communist organizations discloses that a very few teachers have been active in varying degrees in these groups. In some cases they have been among the originators of the organizations. The teaching profession was represented in such pro-Communist groups as the Inter-Professional Association, the Honolulu Labor Canteen and the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee. The activities of these organizations are covered elsewhere in this Commission's report.

One of the tasks which the Communist Party considers of great importance is the unionization of schoolteachers and students. The following extracts are taken from the May 1937 issue of *The Communist*:

"We [the Communist Party] must boldly counterpose to \* \* \* reactionary programs a progressive philosophy of education which vitalizes the slogan which is the motto of the American Federation of Teachers 'Democracy in Education; Education for Democracy'. This motto can give the slogan for a farmer-labor philosophy of education, which must be developed as a rallying call to educators out of the morass of pragmatism, away from medievalism, forward toward Marxism-Leninism.

"The rebelliousness of schoolchildren, directed against a part of the state machinery itself, is something that Communists cannot afford to ignore. This, together with their desire for knowledge and social life, must form the starting point of our work among students in the schools.

"Insofar as is possible, the broad mass students' organization for this purpose should be the American Student Union which, as union for students must fight first and foremost for their immediate economic needs. [NOTE: The American Student Union is the subject of annex 25 of this report.]

"The task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class consciousness and to organize them into the American Federation of Teachers, which is the main current of the American labor movement.

"The American Federation of Teachers must concern itself primarily with the immediate problems of the teachers—salary, tenure, academic freedom, etc. However, the task of the party must be to draw the organized teachers into a realization of the wider problem of the labor movement."

The United Public Workers of America, a national union, has attempted to organize public-school teachers in the Territory of Hawaii. During the month of September 1946, the Organizing Committee, Teachers Local No. 653, UPWA-CIO, sent circulars to public-school teachers in Honolulu announcing a preliminary meeting for the organization of teachers into local 653 of the UPWA. The meeting was scheduled for 10 a. m., Saturday, October 13, 1946, and was to be held in the YWCA, Honolulu. The circular stated that the Hawaii Education Association, to which the great majority of local teachers belong, was partly dominated by the Department of Public Instruction, and did not touch upon " \* \* \* the hundred and one sore points of our daily life as professional workers." It also explained that the UPWA was allied with what it called the most powerful political force in Hawaii, the CIO union movement. The Hawaii Education Association issued a circular dated October 10, 1946, to its members, challenging statements in the UPWA circular. The meeting was held as scheduled, with about 60 persons present. A reliable observer stated that a majority of those present were not favorable to UPWA and were there to defend HEA. Several public-school teachers are known to have been active in this UPWA movement. Several teachers stationed on islands other than Oahu collaborated with a UPWA organizer. All the teachers identified as active participants in this activity had, for other sufficient reasons, come to the attention of this Commission. However, an informed source estimates that at no time were there more than 25 teachers affiliated with the UPWA in Hawaii and that as of a very recent date, there were no local teachers known to be in that organization.

This Commission has not concerned itself with teachers' associations per se, but has been interested in the UPWA because of its national reputation for Communist leadership and activities. The Fourth Report of the California Com-

mittee on Un-American Activities, issued in 1948, states that nearly every national leader and officer of the United Public Workers of America has a long Communist record. One of the national UPWA officers, Ewart Guinier, was prominent in the activities of the Honolulu Labor Canteen, where he gained the friendship of several Honolulu public-school teachers. One of these teachers, who later used Guinier's residence as a mailing address while visiting in New York City, was in the forefront of those attempting to promote the UPWA's recruitment of teacher members in Hawaii. (Further information concerning the UPWA will be found in annex 20.)

The task of the Communist Party—"to draw the organized teachers into a realization of the wider problem of the labor movement"—would appear to have been at least partially successful in the Territory. Dr. Reinecke's long and close association with the Communist-dominated ILWU is too well known to require further comment. However, other public-school teachers with a pronoun and antimanagement attitude have been very active in local labor-union affairs. This has brought some of them into sympathetic association with Communist labor leaders. For example, in 1947 a public-school teacher on the Island of Hawaii acted as an adviser for a labor-union newspaper, Union Prometheus, while another public-school teacher was a contributor to the same publication. This newspaper is of interest because some of its content clearly appears to have been communistic.

Union Prometheus was a bimonthly mimeographed paper published by ILWU Local, 142, at Pahala, Kau, T. H. The masthead of the first edition, dated January 13, 1947, lists one Pahala teacher as "adviser." She continued to be listed as "adviser" up to and including the June 9, 1947, edition of the paper. In the February 10, 1947, issue a Honokaa teacher was identified as "contributor," and was listed as such thereafter up to and including the June 9 issue. These two teachers were recruited by the Department of Public Instruction from the mainland for the 1945-46 school year. At the expiration of the 1946-47 school year they returned to the mainland and submitted their resignations.

The first edition of Union Prometheus stated that the main purpose of the paper was "to promote a better understanding of unionism and our affiliation with the labor movement." An article on CIO-PAC activity states that "PAC did a darn good job for its first broad-gage experiment in political activity \* \* \* In 1948 we will put in a peoples legislature \* \* \*". Another article comments on a reduction in the Department of Public Instruction budget, saying: "England spends 6 percent of her national income on education, Russia spends 14 percent, and the United States spends the magnificent sum of 1.4 percent of its national income." The author of the latter comment is not identified.

The January 27, 1947, edition of Union Prometheus states that a letter has been received from American Relief for Greek Democracy in regard to the adoption of a Greek orphan. It is explained that this can be done by making contributions, and that this matter will be discussed at the next meeting of local 142, unit 2. (American Relief for Greek Democracy is described by the California Committee on Un-American Activities as a "Communist front," of whose sponsors 18 were either directors or sponsors of another noted front, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.)

An article in the February 10, 1947, edition criticizes the Honolulu Elks' Spearhead for Americanism campaign against communism. Excerpts from that article are quoted:

"Wasn't Lincoln in his time considered a radical? If communism had been known, the slaveholders would have called him a Communist."

"Lincoln also (as any Lincolnia student knows) said that if the government didn't suit the majority of the people, the people have the right to change it."

"Going back to Lincoln's words—'all men are created equal'—how can they explain their fraternal constitution which excludes all but members of the white race from becoming Elks?"

The February 24 edition comments on the convening of the Territorial legislature, and the political solidarity of the various ILWU locals and units of west Hawaii under the leadership of Koichi Ariyoshi (not to be confused with his brother, Koji Ariyoshi, editor of the Honolulu Record). An article entitled "On the Alert" define terms which may be used during the legislative session and which in many cases, it was explained, are used to "smear" a person rather than to clearly define his beliefs. The definition of communism contained in the article is quoted:

"Communist: A person favoring that system of government by which the means of production and distribution are owned and managed by the Govern-

ment, with the goods produced being shared by all citizens. *Contrary to common belief the Communist does not advocate violence.*"

This commission invites particular attention to the last sentence of the above definition, to which emphasis has been added. The italicized statement represents a standard contention of the Communist Party. Its falsity has been generally recognized by the Congress, the courts, and the American people.

The April 21, 1947, edition suggests a visit to the office, where Truth About Unions and Why Work for Nothing are available. These booklets were said to have been written by one Leo Huberman, who, according to the Third Report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947, is identified with many Communist Party fronts. An editorial in that edition states that "we are looking for young people who are interested in labor movement so that we can send them to labor school in the mainland." Reference apparently was made to the California Labor School, to which the ILWU has sent many of its members. That school is described by the Attorney General of the United States as a "subversive and Communist organization" and by the California Committee on Un-American Activities as an "expanded Communist Party institution for the purpose of disseminating Communist propaganda."

The June 9, 1947, edition carries a front-page box notice inviting attention to the fact that Henry Wallace's speech and appeal to the American people appears on pages 5 and 6. It explains that although the bill for a loan to Greece and Turkey already had been passed by Congress and approved by the President, the newspaper is presenting a "very good speech" made by Henry Wallace which explains why he opposed the bill.

The Union Prometheus of July 9, 1947, contains an article on Red baiting and quotations from Why Work for Nothing. The latter compares the plantation worker to the "slave under slavery" and to the "serf under feudalism."

Teachers have been connected with the Honolulu Record as stockholders and as contributors to its news columns. The United States House Un-American Activities Committee, in a report dated October 1, 1950, concludes that the Honolulu Record is a front for the Communist Party. Further information concerning this publication will be found elsewhere in this commission's report. The discussion here of the Honolulu Record is confined to its relation to education.

The Honolulu Record has made many efforts to interest persons connected with education. Complimentary copies have been mailed to public-school teachers and to University of Hawaii faculty members, followed by letters pointing out that it is an "independent" newspaper, the purpose of which is to give a fresh interpretation of events which will affect all, and to do it from the viewpoint of the majority instead of the so-called vested interests.

The June 8, 1950, edition of the Honolulu Record carries a front-page article headlined, "Kona Principal Sends Sons to Nearby Private School." It was dated-line "Kona, Hawaii" under the byline, "By Special Correspondence." The article was concluded in the next edition of the Honolulu Record, also on the front page, and was headed, "Independent-Minded Teacher Resigns From Konawaena Hi." These articles are quoted in full:

"KONA PRINCIPAL SENDS SONS TO NEARBY PRIVATE SCHOOL

"By Special Correspondence

"(This is the first of two articles on Kona)

"KONA, HAWAII.—Mark Sutherland, principal of Konawaena High School, sends his two sons to the Waipuilani School, a private institution near Konawaena for this district's 'social register' families.

"Whether Mr. Sutherland regards Konawaena, which he heads, not good enough for his sons or whether he sends them to Waipuilani to 'keep up with the Joneses' is a question which is often asked in private conversation among people here.

"Say he is haole

"While the residents here are curious about Sutherland's reason for sending his children to Waipuilani, they do not think his behavior is odd.

"After all, he is a haole,' they say.

"There is no question in the minds of these people that if the handful of influential haole ranchers sent their children to Konawaena, they would naturally bring pressure on the Territorial and county governments and the department of public instruction for vast improvements.

"Konawaena High and Elementary School is the only high school in this district. It is the second largest school on this island, with an enrollment of about 1,000 students in all departments.

*"Issue is not Sutherland*

"A farmer recently told this writer, while discussing Konawaena that 'our children are cheated.'

"He commented that while Mr. Sutherland is in the good graces of the haole ranchers whose influence is powerful enough to remove principals and teachers from Kona, the issue in education here is not Sutherland—it remains, as it was before the present principal came to Konawaena, 'The people versus the ranchers.'

"The only solution for the establishment of a system of real education in Kona and at Konawaena is for the DPI to heed the desires and aspirations of the thousands of Japanese, Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Latin Americans for their children to be given a fair chance, this farmer said. Konawaena could stand a lot of improvement.

"Sutherland has enjoyed immunity from attacks and criticisms of the 'social register' group, but he has been the target of considerable criticism by the teachers, the Coffee Leaders' Association, students, and some parents. Parents have talked of circulating petitions for his removal from Kona, but this has been discouraged by some who feel that removing Sutherland is not the answer.

*"Big shots satisfied*

"Some of the powerful figures in this community among the land barons, bankers, and the representatives of American Factors, Ltd., are Walter D. Ackerman, Sr., Sherwood Greenwell, D. M. Frazer, Francis Cushingham, and Linzy C. Child. It is said among the coffee planters and independent businessmen that the economically powerful are satisfied with Mr. Sutherland for the present.

"When Mr. Sutherland ran for the constitutional convention from group H, including south Kona and Kau, it was tacitly understood among the people that the big interests were behind him.

"In the primary, Mr. Sutherland received 290 votes in all, 64 of them from Kealakekua (Kahauloa precinct) where he lives. In the same election, Peter Kawahara, a teacher at Konawaena, received 664 votes, and in the general election was elected with almost as many votes from Kealakekua as his principal received in all during the primary. Kawahara lives at Holualoa, another precinct.

"Behind the surface quietness of this beautiful district, hemmed in by lava on both ends, is a growing protest among the people, who feel that they are cheated.

"(To be concluded.)"

*"INDEPENDENT-MINDED TEACHER RESIGNS FROM KONAWAENA HI*

*"Special Correspondence*

*"(Second of Two Articles on Kona)*

"KONA, HAWAII.—The recent resignation of Mrs. Helene Hale from Konawaena High School has been hush-hushed, but behind the unsuccessful move to whip the independent public-school teacher into silence and conformity is the story of education controlled by the 'social register' families.

"Mark Sutherland, principal of Konawaena High School, sends his two sons to the Waipuilani School, a private institution near Konawaena, which is attended by children of the 'social register' elements. While these families regard Konawaena as 'unfit' for their children, they have a strong say in the policy and program at the public school. And this has meant control over the conduct of teachers and even their family members.

"Mrs. Hale's resignation may not have come about, observers here say, if William Hale, her husband, had not run for the constitutional convention as delegate from west Hawaii. At least, they comment, pressure would not have been brought during the election campaign.

"Hale, a former schoolteacher at Konawaena who resigned voluntarily 2 years ago, blasted the 'sacred cows' of Kona in his campaign speeches. People who had heard of the move to 'get' Mrs. Hale commented that the action was probably intended by the 'ruling interests' to scare the candidate Hale into keeping his mouth shut about certain matters during the rallies.

"The candidate, among other things, blasted the Greenwell lands in mauka Kona as a symbol of the antiquated economic system that was holding back the development of the district. He hit the system of leased land. The farmers and merchants listened and liked it.

*"Principal has visitors*

"While Hale was blasting away from the stump, three members of the 'community' called on Sutherland to inquire why he did not fire Mrs. Hale.

"Who comprise this 'community'?

"The Hales say it is the 'social register' class, very small in number, led by the land barons, bankers, and the representatives of American Factors, Ltd., and includes such men as Walter D. Ackerman, Sr., Sherwood Greenwell, D. M. Frazer, Francis Cushingham, and Linzy C. Child.

"Sutherland, put under pressure, called Mrs. Hale into conference and demanded 'loyalty to the (Sutherland's) administration,' the Record learned. Mrs. Hale stood on her right to criticize anything that jeopardized the safety of the students or herself, such as frequently locking the doors of the gymnasium during assembly periods, except for 1 or 2 entrances located close to one another. The gymnasium is regarded as a fire hazard.

*"Complaints against Mrs. Hale*

"The complaints against Mrs. Hale brought out by 'three members of the community,' the Record was informed by a reliable source, included these points: That Mrs. Hale asked embarrassing questions about the land monopoly, attended Buddhist services on occasion, socially associated with nonhaoles on all economic levels, did not attend Christ Church where the 'social register' families and their associates congregate, and permitted her daughter to take part in Japanese dances.

"When such complaints were brought against Mrs. Hale, people here recalled that 2 years ago Hale's immediate reason for resigning was along the same lines. He was then told not to sponsor among his students a program dealing with Japanese history and culture, because the community' might not like it.

"Sutherland, in Mrs. Hale's recent case, asked his superiors in the department of public instruction to transfer her 'as soon as it is practicable.' This happened when Hale was campaigning. A district superintendent arranged a hearing on charges brought against Mrs. Hale, but no copy of the charges was ever given her.

*"Charges not proved*

"The hearing was held and the district superintendent, it is reported, stated that the charges did constitute insubordination, a ground for dismissal from the system. It was said, however, that it was not shown during the hearing that Mrs. Hale had refused to obey a direct order.

"Mrs. Hale received permission to introduce her charges of inefficiency against the administration, which she later did in a letter. But she did not agree to 'keep her mouth shut' pending the next meeting.

"Mrs. Hale told the Record she resigned because the pattern of the hearing appeared to be the same as that so frequently used in Hawaii—put the non-conformist and liberal on the defensive and then conciliate all the issues out of the dispute. In the end, the teacher might be retained, but so would the faults that caused her to criticize in the first place.

"Mrs. Hale's grievances against the principal, observers say, can now be acted upon by the DPI without her case interfering, since she has voluntarily left her position. But the DPI thus far has not taken up these criticisms. And, at the same time, residents of this district have refrained from circulating a petition asking for Sutherland's removal. Such an action was discussed by the farmers, but they were discouraged by haoles not in the 'social register' class.

"Whether Sutherland is removed or not removed is not the real question," observed an oldtimer here. "It's for the DPI to put its feet down and stop letting the 'social register' crowd dictate how the school for the common people is to be run," (Honolulu Record, June 15, 1950).

It is noted that the second article states that Mrs. Hale's husband, William Hale, also had resigned from his teaching position at Konawaena 2 years previously. William Hale again was mentioned by the Honolulu Record on August 17, 1950:

"William Hale, who constantly tears into the vital issue of landlordism and gave the Greenwells and Kona's so-called Big Five a bad time during the last constitutional convention campaign, is a potential Democratic candidate for the

House. Coffee planters will again turn out to listen to the facts of life and the haole landlords and ranchers will chew their fingernails in burning anger. \* \* \*

The Hales were recruited by the department of public instruction from the mainland for the 1947-48 school year. Both expressed a preference for duty on the island of Hawaii—he for an outlying section and she for Konawaena High School, Kealahou, T. H. He resigned on July 15, 1948, and she resigned in 1950. He gave as his reasons for resigning:

"I am convinced that a truly educational program is impossible of achievement, because of:

- (1) The low level of teaching personnel, both kamaaina and malihini [i. e., both long-time residents and newcomers].
- (2) The overexpansion of supervisory functions in Honolulu, in some cases with inadequate and inexperienced individuals,
- (3) The department policy in regard to the discussion of communism,
- (4) Interpretation of policy in regard to the preservation and dissemination of oriental culture,
- (5) Segregation of students racially by means of so-called English standard schools in contradiction to the decision of the Federal court in the Santa Ana, Calif., case, and
- (6) Overcentralization of administrative functions in Honolulu, to the detriment of isolated districts such as Kona."

It is believed that Hale's reason numbered (3)—"The departmental policy in regard to the discussion of communism"—refers to department of public instruction principals' circular No. 943, dated March 16, 1948, signed by Superintendent W. Harold Loper. This circular was entitled, "Zeal for American Democracy," and was issued when the Hales were teaching at Konawaena school. It requested that principals and their staffs inform the central office of their reaction to the statements made in it, including any criticism or any suggestion for modification or extension of it.

Copies of Dr. Loper's circular were presented to the teachers at Konawaena school at a faculty meeting on April 12, 1948. There was considerable opposition voiced to the circular. Faculty members speaking in opposition to the circular were more numerous than those supporting it. The teachers being not in agreement, a motion was adopted that a committee be appointed to pick out the consistencies or inconsistencies of Circular No. 943 on zeal for American democracy and submit a revision of the circular to the faculty at another meeting. Mrs. Hale was appointed chairman of the committee. The committee, in turn, could not reach an agreement, so it was decided to submit a questionnaire to the individual teachers to be answered without their identity being revealed.

At a general teachers' meeting held on May 3, 1948, the committee chairman presented a report of the committee's analysis of the completed questionnaires. The questionnaires themselves were not presented. It was voted to send the analysis and individual comments written in the questionnaires to the superintendent, Dr. Loper.

In the following presentation, the first part in each instance presents a paragraph of Dr. Loper's circular, and the second part shows the vote of teachers on Dr. Loper's statement and presents the comments of individual teachers thereon.

#### PARAGRAPH 1

"The professional obligation of the teacher to remain neutral on controversial issues, to present impartially the facts and arguments on both sides of any question, may result in some uncertainty on the subject of communism. Such uncertainty, if it exists, is no doubt increased by the confusion deliberately fostered by Communists. The propaganda that teachers are threatened with gag rule, that fear has silenced them, is in itself a crafty suggestion that they need to be afraid. The fact that some States recognize a political party called Communist may give rise to some honest doubts. Teachers have shown a commendable disposition to suspend judgment, where individual loyalties have been questioned, until the facts are in and the evidence heard. But this virtue can easily be exploited by subversive forces. It is a simple trick to interpret silence as a sign of timidity. And finally the very devotion of teachers to the cause of civil liberties may disarm them for the encounter with communism unless clear thinking and full discussion prevail."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 18; disagree, 15; abstained, 2.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"There is much inconsistency of thought; also, the paragraph conveys the idea that although teachers are thinking critically, they can easily be exploited by

subversive forces. These reflect a deplorable lack of confidence in the intellectual ability of teachers.

\* \* \* \* \*

"If subversive forces can exploit something, can it be a virtue?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"The ideas are confused and contradictory. If free discussion and impartial presentation are virtues, why will they not be adequate when the subject of communism arises?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"The assumption that we must encounter communism is not clear."

\* \* \* \* \*

"A liberal teacher is branded communistic whether that is true or not. It has happened here."

\* \* \* \* \*

"How can you imply that 'the very devotion of teachers to the cause of civil liberties may disarm us for the encounter with communism unless clear thinking and full discussion prevail' and in the same paragraph tell us that 'to present impartially the facts and arguments on both sides of the question may result in uncertainty on the subject of Communism'?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"American democracy versus communism? How could we remain neutral on such controversial issues? The point to stress here is for teachers to emphasize not only the principles of democracy but democracy in action."

\* \* \* \* \*

"It is not propaganda that we are afraid of gag rule. This circular is evidence of gag rule, and an attempt by certain parties to tell us what and how to teach."

\* \* \* \* \*

PARAGRAPH 2

"Two distinctions need to be made sharp and clear to dispel any such confusion. First we must differentiate positively between the appropriate attitude of the teacher toward controversial issues in general and the role of the teacher with respect to communism. Then we need to contrast boldly the principles of American democracy with the cunning strategy of the Communist Party."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 23; disagree, 13; abstained, 0.

Comments made by the teachers were: "How can we differentiate between controversial issues in general and the issue of communism?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"I see no need for any such distinctions."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The role of the teacher' is not clear. The definition of 'American Democracy' seems necessary."

\* \* \* \* \*

"How can that be done? Do we know what these cunning strategies are? The FBI has a hard time discovering that."

\* \* \* \* \*

"If we are familiar with the cunning strategy of the Communist Party."

\* \* \* \* \*

"In the last sentence does the word 'principles' come in the same category as the word 'strategy'? We are accustomed to comparing one apple with another."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The teacher must use the democratic method in the discussion of communism or democracy or the democratic method fails of its purpose."

\* \* \* \* \*

"There are no sharp distinctions: for a democracy, we have a very undemocratic way of living."

\* \* \* \* \*

"I see no need to differentiate between communism and any other controversial issue."

\* \* \* \* \*

## PARAGRAPH 3

"The seriousness of the problem is clear enough and becoming clearer every day. The magazines are full of it. Press, radio, and official reports have brought it into sharp focus. The tragedy of Czechoslovakia may be due to re-enactment in Italy. Then France may be next. It can't happen here, we hope; but if not, it will be because we stop it now. Current events in Europe show the pattern of 'intimidation, fraud and terror' by which free countries are taken over. The discrimination we need here will depend upon sober judgment, not emotional propaganda. A brief review of the contrast and conflict between communism and American democracy may lead to a profitable exchange of ideas concerning the problem."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 28; disagree, 6; abstained, 2.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"Czechoslovakia was transformed into a Workers' State in full accord with the Czech constitution, according to authoritative information.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The paragraph itself is 'emotional propaganda' not 'sober judgment.' As Representative Patman's article in *School Life* pointed out, history shows us that the threat of fascism is far greater than the threat of Communism.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The tragedy of Czechoslovakia,' etc.—is Russia intimated as the nation causing all the unrest in Europe?

\* \* \* \* \*

"Possibly. There are as many quack Communist-hunters as there were quack doctors in the 1790's, and they are doing just as much harm.

\* \* \* \* \*

"(Agree.) If to present impartially the facts and arguments on both sides of the question is permitted.

\* \* \* \* \*

"This is well-phrased.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I only know what I read and the press is a propaganda machine."

\* \* \* \* \*

## PARAGRAPH 4

"The Communism we are talking about is not just another political party. It is a dictatorship which demands unswerving loyalty and uncritical obedience. As a philosophy of life and a system of government it is the very antithesis of democracy. It places little value on human personality; the individual is of no importance except as a servant of the state, to be liquidated for the slightest deviation from the party line. It holds that the end justifies the means, and teaches its devotees the black arts of deceit, falsehood, and violence as a means to power. It abuses the moral principles and civil liberties of free people in order to destroy those principles and abolish those liberties. It tolerates no disagreement, no freedom of thought or action, and crushes all opposition."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 22; disagree, 10; abstained, 1.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"Ideals of communism and democracy are practically synonymous, philosophically. (No country has either form, practically speaking.)

\* \* \* \* \*

"This explanation is a very inadequate definition of Communism. It certainly is not the ideal of Communism. These same acts exist in America today, under the guise of democracy.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The definition of 'Communism' is not clear. Is the circular talking about 'Russian Communism' or 'Marxian Socialism' or something else?

\* \* \* \* \*

"That is our reference to communism; however, in the correct sense of the word, that is not communism. That is a dictatorship, as in Russia.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The writer has confused true communism with the government of the U. S. S. R. The two are not the same.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Is this the authentic, unbiased definition of communism?"

\* \* \* \* \*

PARAGRAPH 5

"We cannot afford to compromise nor to temporize with such a system. It does not present a debatable question which has two sides for good Americans, for it would destroy the very possibility of effective difference of opinion on all other issues. And yet our defense against it is not the method of the secret police and the firing squad. Our defense is education. It is our responsibility to lead youth to an understanding of how our freedom depends upon constitutional government, what the alternative of tyranny under absolute power would be like, and what duties and responsibilities we have as citizens of democracy. We have inherited a system and a tradition of holding our representatives responsible to the will of the majority, and of respecting the rights of minorities. We place supreme value on individual human personality and make the state subservient to that end. We guarantee protection for the individual against arbitrary use of official authority. All of this we stand to lose if we fail in our educational task."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 23; disagree, 9; abstained, 2.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"Every subject has two sides for good Americans; American Indians have every right to protect the presence of caucasians in America, for example."

\* \* \* \* \*

"If our system is as wonderful as it sounds, it stands on its own two feet, and can be compared to any system. Education should make individuals more intelligent, and any intelligent person would see the values in the system described over any other system. It is an insult to intelligence to say that we need education for democracy but for it to work education must be biased."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Stupid paragraph; confused and overemotional."

\* \* \* \* \*

"We probably need to lay more stress on the duties and responsibilities we have as citizens of a democracy."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Are we to use the democratic method in a discussion of the relative merits of democracy and communism?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"Disagree. Sentence Two."

\* \* \* \* \*

"This paragraph is not wholly consistent with paragraph 9, particularly with respect to 'academic impartiality.'"

\* \* \* \* \*

PARAGRAPH 6

"These values we have taken for granted, possibly because the threat of their destruction never before has been so great. If they are understood, especially by our young people, if democracy is made to work effectively, we have little to fear from Communism in our country. But to allow Communism to grow by granting to it the status of any other controversial issue, feeding on ignorance and injustice, is blindness indeed. Free speech and majority rule are characteristics of democracy, not of Communism. If he who would destroy free speech claims it as a right, we would do well to remember that liberalism is not called upon to commit suicide in the name of consistency. To carry freedom to the point of self-destruction is absurd."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 22; disagree, 9; abstained, 3.

Comments made by the teachers were: "Communism feeds upon educated people more so than ignorant ones, apparently."

\* \* \* \* \*

"What is the matter with democracy, if it works, except when confronted with communism? Why is no mention made of gagging fascism?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"Democracy is an ideal, in my opinion; communism is an ideal, in my opinion. Therefore, they will clash only in theory."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The threat to democracy in 1812, 1860, 1918, 1941 was far greater. We are building trouble and shoving many innocent people off the deep end.

\*(Agree.) To make a sharp line of demarcation.

\*A very good paragraph.

"If communism is not permitted the status of other controversial subjects, then it will feed on ignorance. It must be examined critically before judgment is pronounced.

\*Democracy must prevail—agreed. However, failure of democracy cannot be placed to the subversive activity of communism or to the fact that communism is preferable. We or those who have been leaders in one way or another have failed somewhere down the line, and now with this danger upon us we are getting alarmed, so much so, that we knowingly are leaning toward fascism and further away from democracy. The best way to combat communism, fascism, etc., is to think and live democratically. Have we practiced what we preach?"

#### PARAGRAPH 7

"Under our machinery for orderly and peaceful change, there is room for wide divergence of opinion. Both the liberal and the conservative, the radical and the reactionary, are free to win support for their ideas, by the method of open discussion and persuasion. When a sharp line has been drawn between this procedure and the practices of totalitarianism, whether of the right or the left, then both the conservative and the left wing liberal are in a stronger position. Unless this distinction is drawn, anyone of liberal ideas is apt to be called a Communist."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 23; disagree, 8; abstained, 2.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"Radicals are not free to win support for their ideas by open discussion and persuasion; for example, Henry Wallace in Evansville and Brooklyn.

\*How do you propose to draw the line?

\*What is a liberal?—conservative?—reactionary? I do not understand.

"It might be quite difficult to draw a distinct line between liberal ideas and ideas that are not liberal.

"Ambiguous paragraph. Can't get enough out of it to feel one way or another.

\*Again, this portion does not click with paragraph 9—"divergence of opinion."

#### PARAGRAPH 8

"The labor movement offers a good example of this tendency. Some who are opposed to labor unions in general, condemn Communism and organized labor in the same breath. In doing so they take in too much territory. For workers to join unions and employ concerted action to improve their incomes and conditions of work is perfectly legitimate. But the unions themselves, if they are smart, will throw out the Communists. If they fail to do so, they center upon themselves and their legitimate union activities all of the opposition to Communism."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 26; disagree, 6; abstained, 2.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"Labor unions, if they are smart, will choose leaders who get the best result for them, irrespective of politics.

"I think that the issue is being presented too broadly. Why should the superintendent of public instruction tell the labor unions how to run their affairs, especially since communism is still legal in the United States?"

"What unions are referred to in this paragraph? What constitutes a 'Communist' in a union: When is he thrown out and when is he not thrown out?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"The first four sentences are O. K. Otherwise, the writer tends to become emotional again."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Sounds like propaganda—withholding judgment until it can be proven that American labor unions are controlled by 'Communist International' and not just 'Reds' or 'Communists' as applied by economic pressure groups."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The question here is: Who and how will the unions throw out the Communists?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"By implication the writer claims that there are Communists in all labor unions. Can he offer court evidence as to the truth of his insinuations?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"I agree with the theory, but the act will be difficult to accomplish."

\* \* \* \* \*

"(Agree). If by communism is meant a concerted effort to overthrow our government by violence. Freedom of thought must not be interpreted as communistic, however."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Define communism."

#### PARAGRAPH 9

"A wise teacher, in the discussion of any controversial issue will not use his position nor his classroom to spread propaganda for either side. He will present the facts, help with the analysis, and submerge any personal prejudices he may have. He will indulge in only one kind of indoctrination, namely, the use of the democratic method of resolving such conflicts. However, where the question of communism is concerned, such academic impartiality is a sign of uncritical thinking. There is no middle ground on this issue."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 13; disagree, 23; abstained, 0.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"The critical thinker is always impartial academically; my personal views are far to the left of my teaching."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The paragraph is contradictory. The democratic method 'is a sign of uncritical thinking.' Is this what the superintendent of public instruction meant?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"Sentence 3 and sentence 4 are contradictory to each other."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Another asinine paragraph. Very contradictory. It says that he will not spread propaganda for either side then 'except for democracy.'"

\* \* \* \* \*

"You are not implying that any teacher has been proven to use his position to spread propaganda in the classroom other than American propaganda? I agree with you on the first sentence only, that we would not spread propaganda of either side. The use of the democratic method of analysis in education demands academic impartiality and is furthermore not a sign of uncritical thinking."

\* \* \* \* \*

"In essence, this paragraph is very similar to paragraph 1."

\* \* \* \* \*

"So the democratic method of discussion is called uncritical thinking. What is wrong with the democratic method of problem-solving and democracy if they must be rammed down students' throats? Especially, when communism is discussed."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Contradiction of statements in sentences 2 and 3."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Contradictory and commands one rather too much."

\* \* \* \* \*

"There is glaring inconsistency of thought. The implication here is that democratic freedom should be discouraged relative to discussions on communism. This, I cannot see.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Agree with the first two sentences.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I disagree with the last part of this paragraph, 'where communism is concerned, academic impartiality is a sign of uncritical thinking'.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Unless communism is clearly defined as to specific reference, this is not a sensible conclusion."

\* \* \* \* \*

#### PARAGRAPH 10

"What more can we do about the challenge and the threat of communism? How can we combat it without violating our own principles of political freedom? We can read about the problems involved, discuss them with our co-workers and unify our thinking concerning them. An excellent starting point is the special issue of School Life for February 1948, from which the title of this circular is borrowed. United States Commissioner of Education, John W. Studebaker, in the leading article quotes J. Edgar Hoover on a number of 'don'ts' to remember in the fight against communism, and then adds a number of positive admonitions of his own:

"Don't confuse liberals and progressives with Communists.

"Don't fail to make democracy work, with equal opportunity and the fullest enjoyment of every American's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"Do give young people a clear understanding of the essential elements of the American democratic way of life.

"Do contrast very concretely the philosophy and practices of democracy with those of dictatorship.

"Do help young people to recognize the elements of Communist strategy and to be intelligent and skillful in thwarting that strategy."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 25; disagree, 7; abstained, 2.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"Thwarting strategy invites open rebellion, as evident in Greece and China.

\* \* \* \* \*

"To contrast the philosophy of democracy with the philosophy of dictatorship is not a fair comparison if we mean by dictatorship, communism, because the philosophic ideal of communism is not dictatorship.

\* \* \* \* \*

"What is the challenge of communism? Let us break it down if the challenge is contrary to the ideals of intelligent citizenship.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Unify our thinking concerning them; that is the totalitarian method of attacking those problems which are objectionable. Shades of the Nipponese thought police.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Easy to say but hard to do.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Does combating communism imply, then, the sacrifices of political freedom—what political freedom?—ask the Negroes of the South. What irony."

\* \* \* \* \*

#### PARAGRAPH 11

"We can all cooperate in the national program for 'Zeal for American Democracy' by reading the articles in that magazine and discussing them in teachers' meetings. Let us know in the central office what you and your staff think of them. We shall also welcome the reaction of principals and teachers to this statement, including any criticism or any suggestion for modification or extension of it."

The teachers' vote on this was: Agree, 23; disagree, 7; abstained, 3.

Comments made by the teachers were:

"My 'Zeal for American democracy' is not improved by reading Mr. Studebaker's vaporizations of a timid mind.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I see no need to cooperate in the 'Zeal for American Democracy' movement if this paper is an example of it.

"The challenge of communism can be tackled by laying down the cards on the table first, without drawing undue conclusions.

"Be glad to let them know.

"Better to comment on circular than to ignore it."

# GENERAL COMMENT BY THE TEACHERS

"We need to educate ourselves to these new problems. We do not want to be caught asleep again like 'the Pearl Harbor case'. Just read 'How Communism Works' by Dorothy Johnson and another series of articles by FBI Edgar Hoover—Star Bulletin, on communism. Note: I am just learning.

"The communism problem is to my mind already settled—education should try to stop the next isms, whatever it is—education is about 10 years behind public opinion—so start now on the next problem.

"This article, if it was necessary at all, should have been sent out at the beginning of the school year, and not toward the end. In some schools, I understand, this article has not been discussed at the teachers' meeting as we did. The reason for this is that if we are supposedly to represent an intellectual group there is no need for such an article.

"I feel that the contents of the circular are quite clear and to the point, and whether we agree with them is not the purpose for which the circular was sent out. I merely take it as something put out by the Department as general information for teachers.

"I feel that all people should cooperate in this program 'Zeal for American Democracy.' I also feel communism should be discussed in classes and the public with an open mind, and should not be aimed at certain people. I think this circular has many good points and suggestions.

"This circular is ill-considered, ill-timed, and philosophically unsound. I do not really believe that Dr. Loper wrote the first draft. As a fellow-employee of the Department I question his judgment in signing it.

"The paper was obviously written for political purposes to silence opposition to the Reinecke case. It is a distorted, confused, unintelligent approach to the problem. It insults the intelligence of a wide-awake, progressive teacher. It paves the way for fascism in America, not democracy.

"The article or circular seems to minimize (in my opinion) the extent of the average teacher's intelligence on such political matters. Where the opinions or opinion of any person are involved they should be so stated as 'opinions'.

"As my students might phrase it, 'Pilau the kind.'

"Very poorly written—expression of thoughts indicate confusion of thoughts on the part of the writer, hence resulting in the confusion of thoughts on the part of the teachers. This letter was not necessary.

"In certain fields of sports we often speak of 'the best offense is a good defense'. It is our responsibility as parents, teachers, and citizens to give our young people a clear understanding of the essential elements of the American democratic way of life. Learning by doing and seeing, however, is in general better than learning by hearing and listening. This being a fact, it is far more important for us to see that democracy works in the lives of young people.

"This circular is an attempt to gag freedom of thinking, speaking, and writing for the teachers of Hawaii. This circular is an attempt to quash the unfavorable comments by the teachers concerning the DPI's treatment of Dr. and Mrs. Reinecke.

\* \* \* \* \*

"This circular is untimely at this particular time due to the pending Reinecke case. It is a propaganda measure.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Whole thing unnecessary.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Our major responsibility is to make democracy work so that we need not have any fear of the 'Red Menace'. I feel that communism has gotten such a foothold in America because democracy has not operated to remove many of the evils that exist, e. g., race prejudice, Negro persecution, Jew-baiting, Ku Klux Klan.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I do not think that a teacher should depart from her impartiality for anything."

Some of these comments clearly indicate that certain teachers took a destructive attitude toward various statements made in the circular. Other statements raise doubts whether some of these teachers are "possessed of the ideals of democracy" required under the statutes.

The Daughters of the American Revolution sponsored their annual 5-minute speech contest for the senior high schools of the Territory of Hawaii in November 1948. The contest was approved by the commissioners of public instruction. It was unusual in that a junior at Kaimuki High School delivered a speech favoring communism. This occasioned much comment and the incident later was given considerable publicity in the local press. This matter came to the attention of Delegate Joseph R. Farrington, then in Washington, D. C., who, on March 21, 1949, requested of the superintendent of public instruction an immediate report. A lengthy telegram reporting the circumstances was sent to Delegate Farrington 2 days later. This matter is discussed here because of the unusual publicity it received. The student delivered this speech on November 17, 1948. Its subject was, "Few Things You Don't Know About Communism in America." On November 23, 1948, the supervising principal, Honolulu schools, held a conference with the principal of Kaimuki High School, and the case was reviewed. It was found that the principal was not present when the speech was delivered, having been called from the assembly hall to answer a telephone call. At the conference it was decided that there was no basis for suspecting disloyalty on the part of any member of the staff, and that any other "fuss or investigation would militate against a positive intelligent program of education which we believe is the best antidote to false propaganda." In February 1949, this case came to the attention of the commissioners of public instruction, who believed that any suggestion of communism in the schools could best be disposed of by exposure to public view rather than by silence. They ordered the matter reopened. The principal of Kaimuki High School on February 17, 1949, submitted a report of an investigation conducted by him. A further and more complete investigation was made by a member of the supervising principal's office, and his report was submitted on February 23, 1949.

These administrative investigations indicated that the student had selected her speech topic of her own free will, and that her choice was motivated by a desire to be different, and not by any pro-Communist leaning. It was further developed that Charles K. Fujimoto, self-styled chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii, assisted this student in the preparation of the speech. Her contact with Fujimoto apparently was established through her own efforts, there being no indication that any influence on the part of anyone connected with the school, or anyone else, was exerted on her.

The summary of findings and recommendations submitted by the supervising principal's representative stated that it had been decided, a few days after the speech was delivered, that the best course of action was to give the incident as little publicity as possible, to take action to counteract any damage already done, and to see that such incidents do not occur in the future. It was also stated that all but 1 of 12 Kaimuki High School faculty members interviewed believed that undue publicity would react unfavorably against the public schools and would

cause unfair criticism to be directed at members of the Kaimuki faculty and student body. The supervising principal's investigator recommended:

- "1. That no unnecessary publicity be given this incident.
- "2. That positive steps be taken to see that such mistakes are not repeated.
- "3. That all reports in the hands of the board be carefully scrutinized, and that statements tending to smear the good name of the principal, members of the faculty, or students at Kaimuki High School be stricken from the record.
- "4. That a supplement to Circular No. 943 be issued by the department clarifying certain points if found to need clarification, and to further caution teachers and administrators against other possible authoritarian movements, groups and ideologies whose adherents seek to sidetrack young people in their search for knowledge by presenting a distorted and one-sided picture of whatever economic or social question happens to be under discussion at the time." (Note.—Circular No. 943 entitled "Zeal for American Democracy" is discussed elsewhere in this report.)

As a result of the Kaimuki High School case, the school commissioners on February 25, 1949, adopted the following policy:

"Teachers should be alert to the possibility of Communist propaganda from sources outside the school system being introduced into the thinking of students in connection with essay and speech contests. One instance of this has recently been reported and thoroughly investigated.

"Constant vigilance is essential for two reasons. Not only must we guard against subversive groups thus gaining 'back door' access to the public schools and indirectly using the classrooms as a forum for their propaganda, but equally important is our responsibility for the education of the individual student who may be misled by antidemocratic, totalitarian doctrine.

"Loyal teachers will know how to develop appreciation of democracy and faith in American institutions. The appropriate educational method is simple but effective. One teacher, for example, in dealing with a student who had made a bid for attention by repeating Communist Party line propaganda, found that merely holding the student responsible for reading and presenting the arguments against communism was sufficient to counteract any subversive influence and begin to build in the student the intelligent and informed loyalty essential to good citizenship."

The apparent attitude of "suppression" noted in this case has been observed in a few persons connected with the department of public instruction. While most administrative officials and teachers contacted have cooperated freely and fully with this commission, a few have been reluctant to discuss matters which might reflect unfavorably on the department. In general, however, the cooperation of department of public instruction personnel has been excellent and has greatly assisted the commission in carrying out its mission.

A study of the textbooks used in the public schools has not been made by this commission. However, it was learned that the Building America series of books were on the approved book list of the department of public instruction. In view of the nature of these books, a limited investigation was made.

The California State Board of Education adopted these books in 1947. Widespread public protest was voiced both before and after the adoption, and the controversy was injected into the California Legislature in January 1947. On March 27, 1948, the Senate Investigating Committee On Education of the California Legislature submitted its third report entitled, "Textbooks." This report consists of 120 pages and deals entirely with the Building America series.

For competent authority to evaluate the possible communistic content of the Building America series, Mr. R. E. Combs, for 10 years counsel to the various committees of the legislature mandated to investigate subversive activities, was engaged. His report to the committee stated:

"Pursuant to your request I have made a critical study of the thirty booklets comprising the Building America series for the purpose of determining whether they contain Communist propaganda. I have examined the text material, illustrations, and captions, and have checked the background of the authors listed in the bibliography of each volume. Some of the booklets contain no Communist propaganda. Others contain it in abundance. The majority of these books are slanted in such a manner that they pointedly disparage the American way of life by criticizing the defects and failing to devote commensurate attention to the benefits. In many instances the text material is erroneous. Frequently the most insidious and effective propaganda is accomplished through the illustrations and captions.

"It is impossible to properly evaluate these books without taking them one by one, paying particular attention to the documented affiliations with known Communist-front organizations of the authors whose texts are listed in the bibliographies—the authors and professional educators whose works provide the material on which the Building America series is based."

In his report Mr. Combs points out that, "It is conceivable that a Communist may write material that contains no propaganda, although such a thing is unlikely. It is also conceivable that a non-Communist may unwittingly write Communist propaganda, but that is even more unlikely. If there is a covey of writers who have been affiliated with a long series of front organizations and they unite in providing basic material for a series of supplementary texts for use in the seventh and eighth grades in our public schools, then obviously such books should be viewed with suspicion. That, as will be seen, is precisely the case with the Building America series." His report discloses that there were 50 Building America authors who were affiliated with Communist-front organizations.

The California committee, in its report of March 27, 1948, to the senate, concluded: "The committee finds the Building America books to be unfit for use in our schools \* \* \*."

The textbook committee of the California State Board of Education withdrew their approval of these textbooks and they are no longer on the approved list for California schools.

On August 2, 1949, the Territorial department of public instruction issued Principals' Circular No. 1001 on the subject of "Building America." This circular stated:

"Because these booklets have been questioned by some as possibly including subversive propaganda, we have had a comprehensive resurvey of the whole series made for the information of principals and teachers."

Excerpts from a report submitted by the committee making this study follows:

"1. In addition to the examination of the one-hundred-odd booklets, I have read the third report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Education, Textbooks, of the California Legislature published in 1948. This deals at some length with the material in question.

"2. Most of these materials are a valuable asset to the teaching of social studies. In my opinion, they are, by and large, completely devoid of any attempt to put over Communist propaganda."

In this report, four pamphlets were selected which were questioned. Recommendations for their future use, if any, are noted below:

Civil liberties: "I believe that a mature boy or girl on the 10th, 11th, or 12th grade level might use this material."

Spanish speaking people: "Placement on 10th, 11th, or 12th grade level—not grades 7, 8, or 9."

Russia: "I recommend that this be completely removed from the approved book list."

Our Constitution: "Use on the 10th, 11th, or 12th grade levels."

It was also stated in this report: "There may be other volumes of the Building America series which are objectionable to some people. If we keep in mind, however, that their primary purpose is to focus the students' attention on our national problems, it is obvious that they must dwell on controversial issues. This is, of course, their greatest strength as teaching materials. To expect anyone to write materials in these areas which is not objectionable to some segment of our population is to expect the impossible. For this reason, and with the exceptions noted above, I fail to see any great harm done to our young people through their use." The closing paragraph of the principals' Circular No. 1001 states:

"In line with the study and recommendations indicated above, I would suggest that you remove volume 10, No. 3, December 1944, entirely from the approved list and from the library shelves; and that use of the other three volumes be restricted to the more mature students on the 10th, 11th, and 12th grade levels under close supervision of the principal, department head, or social studies teacher."

An analysis of the facts shows that the opinions, findings, and actions of the Territorial department of public instruction are almost diametrically opposed to those of the California Senate Investigating Committee on Education and the California State Board of Education. The actions in California were:

(a) The California committee found these books unfit for use in California schools.

(b) The textbook committee of the California State Board of Education withdrew their approval.

(c) The books were removed from the approved list.

In Hawaii, the following actions were taken:

(aa) The local committee found these books, by and large, completely devoid of any attempt to put over Communist propaganda, but recommended the removal of the volume on Russia from the approved list. It was also recommended that three other volumes be used only on 10th, 11th, and 12th grade levels.

(bb) The superintendent's Circular No. 1001 suggests the removal of the volume on Russia, and that the use of the other volumes be restricted to mature students under close supervision of the principal, department head, or social studies teacher.

(cc) The books, with the exception of the volume on Russia, were not removed from the approved list.

A large majority of the public-school teachers who have been of interest to the commission either have been hired from the mainland or have a background of considerable mainland education. During the school year 1950-51 there were 76 mainland teachers hired. It is expected that, for several years to come, an average of 100 mainland teachers will be brought to Hawaii each year. Such teachers usually are assigned to rural Oahu and to islands other than Oahu. This commission's survey establishes that most of the public-school teachers who have had any close contact with subversive elements in Hawaii have had a mainland background, tending to suggest that some mainland teachers have been recruited who are not qualified, in that they are not "possessed of the ideals of democracy" required by Territorial law.

The present method of determining the qualifications of prospective teachers does not require that they submit complete personal history statements. The current application form requires that complete information relative to an applicant's education and teaching experience be furnished, and two character references be listed. It is also required that the application be accompanied by two letters of recommendation. There is no requirement that the applicant account for time spent in pursuits other than studying and teaching. For instance, the application of a teacher who was of particular interest to this commission, listed attendance at various schools and colleges for 14 years and teaching positions held for 5 years, but there was no accounting for a period of 8 years since the last teaching position.

One of the major objectives of the Communists is to infiltrate the schools. It is believed that subversives would to some extent be deterred from applying for teaching positions in Hawaii if all teacher applicants were required to submit complete personal history declarations under oath.

#### UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

A survey of the extent and pattern of subversive activities was made of the University of Hawaii through the medium of interviews, study of records, and interrogation of informed and qualified observers. Faculty, students, campus organizations, and employees of the university were covered in this study. While all nature of subversive activities including fascism, nazism, and communism were explored, this investigation ultimately revolved itself about communism in the absence of any evidence of fascism and nazism.

In about 1935 the first sign of an intellectual interest in Marxist philosophy and communism was shown by a few members of the faculty and students. No organized group participation, but rather individuals having a common interest, were drawn together and occasionally would join others offcampus to discuss with them Marxism and communism.

The first appearance of organized activity of a possible pro-Communist nature was evidenced by the formation of a local chapter of the American Student Union in the fall of 1938. At that time two students from the mainland, both just out of the merchant marine, were active in forming the chapter. The American Student Union, which was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Attorney General of the United States, is covered more fully elsewhere in this report. It is interesting to note that in March 1948, one of these merchant-seaman students sent a letter of protest to the DPI in connection with the suspension of Dr. John E. Reinecke. The activities of the local ASU chapter apparently were not taken too seriously, even though some of its activities paralleled the Communist Party line. Symptomatic of the tenor of the times were the writings

of a student columnist in Ka Leo O Hawaii, whose "line" during 1937-39 can be summed up in three words: anti-Fascist, pro-Communist, atheistic.

In about October 1937, a chapter of the pro-Communist Interprofessional Association was formed in Honolulu. (See annex 5.) While this organization was not affiliated with the university, it attempted to draw itself close to the university by attracting professors and students to its membership and having faculty members as speakers. Dr. John E. Reinecke, who was a faculty member at the time the IPA was formed, was very active in organizing the chapter and in carrying out its program. Dr. Reinecke in later years became a leading figure in the Communist movement in Hawaii.

In the postwar period commencing in the fall of 1945 the Hawaii Youth for Democracy was started at the university and existed for about a year. This organization patterned itself after the American Youth for Democracy on the mainland. A report in fuller detail on HYD is covered elsewhere in this report. (See annex 10.) Charles K. Fujimoto is known to have counseled some of the leading members of HYD, apparently for the purpose of furthering the aims of the Communist Party. Fujimoto, at the time, was a research chemist with the Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station, a branch of the University of Hawaii.

The Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist-front organization, now known as the Hawaii Civil Rights Congress, was headed by Stephen T. Murin, a student at the University of Hawaii. Claude W. White, also a student at the university, acted as chairman of the HCRC for a short period. In February 1951, White became chairman of the HCRC, while Murin was elected vice chairman.

In October 1948, Charles K. Fujimoto resigned his university position and publicly declared himself chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii.

One member of the faculty and one employee of the university each have held one share of stock in the Honolulu Record, a Communist-line publication. A former employee of the university also owned stock in the publishing company.

#### ANNEX 14

##### HONOLULU CONSUMERS' COUNCIL

The Honolulu Consumers' Council, originally known as the Honolulu Consumers' Committee, was first organized with a meeting held at the YWCA on September 11, 1946. Mary Lou McPherson, who was consumer-relations officer for OPA, was chairman at this meeting. Persons attending were representatives of schools, labor organizations, social agencies, veterans' organizations, women's clubs, and other community organizations. The persons at the meeting were fairly representative of groups truly interested in a consumers' program.

The council was proposed to organize in self-defense against inflated prices which were felt sure to occur with the removal of OPA price controls. Four major objectives were announced:

- (a) Better spending skills for the local consumers.
- (b) Better business practice by the local merchants.
- (c) More effective enforcement of laws, ordinances, and regulations so that honest and fair dealing could be realized.
- (d) Better housing, clothing, and feeding for local residents.

By mid-1947 the council had 200 persons on its mailing list either as members or as being interested in its program. Gus H. Webbing was president; Melda Whitman, vice president; and Miss Mildred Towle, secretary-treasurer. Meetings at first were held about twice a month and later monthly. On January 29, 1947, the first large meeting was held. About 80 persons attended. At this meeting the following committees were set up:

- (a) Publicity: Ruth Robbins, Harriet Argenbright, Doris Ozaki, Eileen Fujimoto, K. Omori.
- (b) Finance: Marshall McEuen, Mr. Fullard Leo, Peter Ting, Mrs. David Hyun, John F. G. Stokes.
- (c) Program: Ralph Vossbrink, Mrs. R. A. Garroway, Gladys Paton, Fred Taniguchi, Thomas Matanapu, Koichi Imori.

At this meeting a need for a treasury was discussed and Marshall McEuen pledged \$50 from the CIO.

The council endeavored to realize the objectives outlined previously. It worked on price surveys and price posting, distributed consumer material, gave demonstrations in food preparation, counseled wise spending, and worked for legislation beneficial to the consumer and opposed legislation unfair to him.

Of the five members named on the publicity committee, Doris Ozaki and Eileen Fujimoto have been identified as Communists. Of the five members on the finance committee, Marshall McEuen was one of the "reluctant 39." Of the six members on the program committee, Ralph Vossbrink, Koichi Imori, and Fred Taniguchi have been identified as Communists. With Communists in important committee positions, they were in a powerful position to promote their own proposals and oppose matters that they did not favor. With a total of 200 persons interested in the program, it is evident that the Communists, although small in number as compared to the entire body, were in strategic positions and held power out of proportion to their actual numbers. Of the 200 persons whose names appear on the council's 1947 membership list, about one-sixth were members of the Communist Party or persons who have been identified in various pro-Communist activities. Communists in the council included not only those prominent in labor unions, but also professional men and white-collar workers. Among the members who have been identified as Communists were:

Easter Doyle	Julian K. Napuunoo
Charles Fujimoto	Doris Ozaki
Eileen Fujimoto	Pauline Rosenthal
Wallace Ho	Rachel Saiki
David Hyun	Fred Taniguchi
Koichi Imori	David E. Thompson
Herman P. Ing	Peggy Uesugi
Douglas Inouye	Ralph Vossbrink
Harry Kuhia, Jr.	

David E. Thompson, who is named in Ichiro Izuka's testimony as a Communist, proposed a campaign on the Matson freight-rate issue. At a meeting of the council on February 21, 1947, a committee was set up to secure the necessary data to protest the Matson freight rate increase. At a meeting held August 20, 1947, David Hyun, who acted as executive chairman of the Matson freight-rate committee, reported the work of the committee in collecting information to determine the actual cost to consumers in dollars and cents. Major responsibility for the work of this committee was to be carried by Jean McKillop, James King, and Cyril Bristow. The council was the only body that filed an intervening brief to the United States Maritime Commission to protest a proposed increase of freight rates of the Matson Navigation Co.

A conference was called on February 21, 1947, with representatives of 19 identified Honolulu organizations and others present. Of the groups represented at that meeting, there is evidence of Communist infiltration, control, or attempt to control of the following:

CIO Political Action Committee  
 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.  
 Liberal Legislation League  
 Hawaii Association for Civic Unity  
 United Office and Professional Workers of America, Local 190

A number of the Communists who were members of the council were also members and active with the five groups named above.

On May 12, 1949, soon after the start of the stevedore strike, a council meeting was held and a motion carried to suspend meetings until September of that year. This meeting was the last held until 1951. By September 1949, We, the Women and an organization called Sensible Shoppers were functioning on price-survey work and the council felt that the work could be ably carried on by them.

Because the majority of the general membership of the Honolulu Consumers' Council was alert, intelligent, and not Communist, the Communists in the organization were not able to turn the council to their own ends sufficiently to say that they "captured" it. Although the Communists were able to "use" the council in some respects, the control of the organization has remained firmly in the hands of elected non-Communist officers. It can be recorded with satisfaction that, at a reactivation meeting of the council held in January 1951, Communists were conspicuous by their absence.

#### ANNEX 15

NICHIBEI MINSHU KYOKAI (JAPANESE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRACY)

An August 17, 1946, the Nichibei Minshu Kyokai (Japanese American Association for Democracy), hereinafter called the JAAD, was organized in Honolulu.

Most of the persons prominent in its formation were alien Japanese. Among its leaders were Ginjiro "Hokusan" Arashiro, Rev. Gashu "Seikan" Higa, Jack Denichi Kimoto, Shutei Mayeshiro, Genjiro Jinbo and Paul Minoru "Toshihide" Kaneko.

Following Japan's defeat in 1945 there was a belief held among a few local Japanese, particularly aliens and the "Kibei" (United States citizens of Japanese ancestry who were educated in Japan, then returned to Hawaii) that Japan had not lost the war. These diehards were called katta gumi. The JAAD was formed ostensibly to enlighten the katta gumi group, to give guidance in democratic thinking to backward Japanese residents here, and to assist the postwar democratic movement in Japan. Its officers were Reverend Higa, president; Arashiro, secretary; and Kaneko, treasurer.

A translation of a handbill distributed by the JAAD in 1947 stated its program as follows:

- (a) To strive for the democratic education of the residents of Hawaii.
- (b) To cooperate in the various democratic movements within America.
- (c) To support the democratic movement in Japan.
- (d) To cooperate in the statehood movement in Hawaii.
- (e) To participate in the movement to acquire naturalization rights for the Japanese in Hawaii and the mainland United States.
- (f) To strive for the elimination of all racial discrimination.

In carrying out its program the JAAD decided that a "democratic" newspaper should be sponsored, resulting in the establishment of the Hawaii Star in March 1947. However, there developed within the JAAD group some disagreement over the title of the paper. The self-styled "right" element preferred the title "Minshu Shimbun" ("Democratic News"), while the "left" group, led by Kimoto, Arashiro and Mayeshiro, succeeded in having the name "Hawaii Star" adopted. Kimoto, who became first editor of this paper, had a long record of Communist activity. A report on the Hawaii Star is presented in Annex 23.

The dispute on naming the paper was the first sign of a rift developing in the organization between the "left" and "right" factions. Another incident showing such friction came about with the sponsorship by the JAAD of speeches to be given by Dr. Ikuo Oyama in mid-1947, on the new (postwar) constitution of Japan, of which Dr. Oyama was advertised as one of the framers. Several of the "left" group opposed the plan to sponsor these lectures, probably because publicizing the new constitution might reflect favorably on General MacArthur's occupation policies. (The Communist line, as presented in the Hawaii Star, is consistently anti-MacArthur.)

In addition to the main Honolulu JAAD group, a chapter was established at Waipahu, Oahu, and was known as the Waipahu Branch. An advertisement appearing in the Hawaii Star, September 11, 1947, extended to that branch the congratulations of 29 persons whose names appeared at the foot of the advertisement. About half of the 29 are identified members of the Honolulu JAAD group, and 23 were stockholders in Hawaii Star. The membership of the Waipahu Branch of the JAAD in 1948 became the nucleus of the Waipahu chapter of the subversive HCLC.

Although purporting to be an organization pledging itself "to contribute toward the progress and realization of democracy," as stated in its handbill of August 17, 1946, some of its organizers were intent on using the JAAD in a pro-Communist manner. The policy of Hawaii Star, its offspring, clearly shows this.

It is noted that of the JAAD members who are reported to have been with the "right" faction and in disagreement with the Hawaii Star editorial policy, five were listed as stockholders in the Hawaii Star in its last annual corporation exhibit filed with the Treasurer of the Territory of Hawaii.

The JAAD is reported to have gone out of existence by the middle of 1948.

#### ANNEX 16

##### HAWAII CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

In late November 1947, Hawaii's Communist Party leaders began to lay the groundwork for the HCLC, the largest and most effective Communist front to appear in the Territory. The occasion for HCLC's formation was the suspension of Dr. John E. Reinecke and his wife, Aiko, from teaching positions with the department of public instruction on charges growing out of their Communist Party activities. Claiming to be nonpolitical and not interested in the defense of communism, the HCLC professed to devote itself to the protection of civil

rights. The Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, published a report of its investigation of the HCLC on June 23, 1950, and classified that organization as a Communist front. In view of the House committee's report and because the Attorney General of the United States has classified the HCLC as Communist, only significant information not contained in the House committee's report is contained herein.

The HCLC was formed in late 1947 at the instigation of the Oahu CIO Council. Two representatives of the Oahu CIO Council who laid the groundwork for the HCLC was Ralph V. Vossbrink of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union and Marshall L. McEuen, former co-director of the 1946 CIO-PAC who was then employed by the ILWU. An "off the record" motion unanimously adopted by the council gave Vossbrink and McEuen authorization to proceed with the project, which they at the time termed "A Civil Rights Defense Committee." Vossbrink and McEuen made an attempt to induce a non-Communist of liberal tendencies and good reputation to lead the proposed organization. This attempt to give the organization the face of liberal leadership failed. Instead, the HCLC was led at all times by persons closely connected with the Communist Party.

The HCLC was aware in advance of the intention of the Communist Party of Hawaii, publicly to identify Charles K. Fujimoto, an HCLC member, as chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii. In this connection the HCLC sent the following letter dated October 11, 1948, to its members:

"DEAR MEMBER: Enclosed please find invitations to a special dance sponsored by the HCLC which will be held on the Lanai at pier 11 Terminal Building this Friday, October 15, 1948.

"This affair is very important as an announcement will be made during the intermission which will be of utmost interest to all.

"Please contact your friends and invite them to come to this very special affair.

"The donation is payable upon admission, so bring your invitation with you.

"Sincerely,

"HAWAII CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE."

The "very important" announcement mentioned in the second paragraph of this letter was the planned introduction of Fujimoto, who earlier that day had announced his Communist Party status, to the persons present at the dance. The purpose of the dance was to honor Fujimoto as HCLC's "member of the year." Stephen Murin and others made impromptu speeches in which they congratulated Fujimoto for his courage in sacrificing his position at the University Agricultural Experiment Station to become a full-time Communist Party worker for the betterment of the people of the Territory. Fujimoto acknowledged their sentiments and thanked the HCLC for its understanding of his beliefs.

The HCLC sponsored the free showing of the motion picture, *Native Land*, at the Library of Hawaii on April 23, 1948. This film was heavy with propaganda directed toward creating unrest and uncertainty in the minds of the people as to the functioning of our democratic system. The minutes of the HCLC reveal that this film was also to be shown at a meeting to be held at Waipahu, Oahu, on May 22, 1948.

The HCLC sent a cablegram to Communist-line Congressman Vito Marcantonio, congratulating him on his efforts to defeat the Mundt-Nixon bill.

The minutes of the HCLC dated July 26, 1948, record that a picket line was to be formed outside the building where the Reinecke dismissal cases were to be heard and that printed material would be given away. Eileen Fujimoto was to be in charge of the picket line and Cyril Bristow was to compose the throwaway material. Such a picket line, featuring Communists and fellow travelers, did materialize.

Other specimens of the type of throwaway material distributed by the HCLC are its pamphlet. *The Un-Americans Are Here*, attacking the commission on subversive activities, and one called *Mugity Wumpus* by Mike Quin. Both are satirical Communist propaganda. Mike Quin is a staff writer for the *Daily Peoples' World*.

In addition to distributing pamphlets printed of its own, the HCLC sent out with its June-July Bulletin, dated July 12, 1950, one copy of the Civil Rights Congress pamphlet entitled "Argument to the Jury of Richard Gladstein in the New York Communist Trail." Although the HCLC distributed literature printed by the Civil Rights Congress, it did not become affiliated with this largest national Communist-front organization until October 1950.

In June 1949, the HCLC had made application to the superintendent of buildings, city and county of Honolulu, T. H., for permission to use a schoolroom for a HCLC membership meeting. The superintendent of buildings refused to grant this permission. A further request was made by the HCLC for the use of a school auditorium for a public meeting on April 10, 1950, and this was refused. The HCLC then advised the superintendent of buildings that it was advised that his refusal was unlawful. Although taking the stand that the superintendent's action was unlawful, the HCLC has never done anything about filing suit in this connection.

A news item appearing in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, September 25, 1950, reports that the executive board of the HCLC had adopted a resolution attacking the passing of the McCarran Act by Congress. The resolution called on President Truman to veto this bill.

An interesting sidelight offering some insight into the gullibility of some of the members of the HCLC regarding the true purpose of the organization was shown by a statement made by a member who reasoned that with the exception of Fujimoto, none of the HCLC members could be Communists, because, during his association with the HCLC, no attempts were made to indoctrinate him, nor was he invited to join the Communist Party. This failure to perceive that any such action by the party would have exposed the HCLC as a Communist "arm" and thus negated its value to the party, was apparently shared by many persons who at one time were interested in the work of the HCLC.

On June 13, 1948, the HCLC held a picnic at Kokokahi Camp, Kaneohe, Oahu. A Territorial convention of the Communist Party of Hawaii was held at the same place in the latter part of 1946.

In a special HCLC bulletin dated September 15, 1950, the HCLC executive board discussed the matter of affiliation with the Civil Rights Congress. It was announced that a general membership meeting would be held on September 22, 1950, at the C. M. & S. Hall, 108 North King Street, Honolulu, to discuss and vote on this recommendation. The bulletin further stated "This will be our last chance to meet before the next attack by the un-Americans."

Since the widely publicized exposure of the HCLC as a result of the congressional hearings in April 1950, the HCLC has boiled down to a hard core of Communists and willing Communist collaborators. For a short time the remaining members discontinued their meetings, but later resorted to a system of meeting in private homes.

The HCLC's changing its name to Hawaii Civil Rights Congress conforms to the usual practice of Communist-front organizations, which, upon exposure of their true nature, either dissolve themselves, reappear in a completely new guise, or take a new name. The HCRC is actually a protraction of the HCLC, although the new organization does not enjoy the support of as many people as did the HCLC prior to its exposure by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Throughout its existence the HCLC did much more to foster racial antagonism than it did to encourage racial unity. It promoted disrespect for constituted authority and for established institutions and turned its best efforts toward the advancement of the Communist cause.

#### ANNEX 17

##### HAWAII CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

The Hawaii Civil Rights Congress purporting to be an organization fighting for civil liberties in Hawaii was formerly known as the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee which had been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Communist-front. The HCLC after the change in name to the HCRC in October 1950, affiliated with the national Civil Rights Congress, cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General's Office (citations by Official Government Agencies of Organizations and Publications found to be Communist or Communist Fronts, p. 26). The national Civil Rights Congress was formed in April 1946, as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The below-quoted letter sent out by the HCRC on November 29, 1950, is indicative of its interests in its fight on the side of the Communists:

HAWAII CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS,  
Box 2120, Honolulu, November 29, 1950.

DEAR FRIEND AND MEMBER: You have been a part of the fight for civil liberties in Hawaii. That fight has been led by the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, which last month affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress. Your participation in this all-important struggle will now assume greater effectiveness.

The mounting pressures initiated by reactionary political and economic forces are taking their frightful toll in America. The result is that fewer people are called upon to bear the brunt of the attack. In Hawaii, the task of those who fight for constitutional government, for the right to work, the right to speak and think without fear, is especially hard. This you know.

You know, too, that the culmination of our fight will be reached soon. Judge Delbert E. Metzger has set January 3 as the date on which the case against Hawaii's 39 most aggressive fighters against reaction may begin. Many of that 39 were members of the HCLC. Most are not, but all face the same fate: To recant, to deny, the validity of their lives and that for which they have fought, on pain of imprisonment if they do not.

The Hawaii Civil Rights Congress will stand by all those who are facing trial. The HCRC has the specific responsibility of maintaining the defense of those who are its members. Our special task will be that of helping to pay the terrific costs of preparing their defense. Their defense is in the best hands.

Our financial situation is desperate. Our treasury is low. The freedom of our members, your friends, Hawaii's finest working people, is the immediate issue. But more basically, the freedom of every American, and especially your freedom—since you, too, are a fighter—is at stake.

We ask you to help, to give now all the financial aid you can to those who are fighting for you. You have helped before by standing with us,

Make a contribution, a good one, to help support the fight.

No gift you give this Christmas will be more worthwhile.

Send your cash or pledge now to:

HAWAII CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS,  
Box 2120, Honolulu.

A news item in the Honolulu Record dated January 4, 1951 states that at a party held in Honolulu, T. H., December 30, 1950, guests signed a petition for the release of David Hyun, (who was arrested on a warrant at Los Angeles, Calif., under the McCarran Act).

In another item appearing in the Honolulu Record on February 15, 1951, it is reported that Stephen Murin, former chairman, was succeeded by Claude White as chairman. Stephen Murin was elected vice chairman; Evelyn Murin, secretary; and Robert Kempa, treasurer. Murin is one of the "reluctant 39" who were acquitted in United States District Court before Judge Delbert E. Metzger, who upheld the right of the defendants' refusal to answer questions on affiliation with the Communist Party on the grounds of self-incrimination. The meeting referred to in the above news item was held at 108 North King Street, Honolulu, T. H., which is the address of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, an organization which was disaffiliated from the CIO because of its Communist leadership.

Recently the HCRC has put on a drive for membership and solicitation of funds enclosing with an application form, the copy of a pamphlet called News which is a publication of the national CRC. One of these was mailed to a prominent public official.

In the December 21, 1950, issue of the Honolulu Record appears an advertisement placed by the HCRC extending Christmas greetings to the Honolulu Record "from its cofighters for civil rights for all people in this Territory."

#### ANNEX 18

##### UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANIZATION OF HAWAII

A standard agitation tactic of the Communist Party is to criticize the capitalistic system (including governments of capitalistic countries) for the fact of unemployment, thereby implanting in the minds of unemployed persons a critical attitude toward the government which later may ripen into a desire to overthrow the government. Taken in this context, the Unemployed Workers' Organization

of Hawaii, which existed in Honolulu during 1949, is of interest in any appraisal of local subversive activities.

On March 31, 1949, at 1 p. m., on the grounds at Iolani Palace, Honolulu, a rally was held to interest unemployed persons in doing something about the unemployment situation in Hawaii. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the meeting was called for March 31 at the palace grounds. The palace grounds was itself a most appropriate place for such a meeting because there was located on the grounds the office of the Territorial Employment Service, to which unemployed persons went in search of work.

Handbills had been passed out advertising the rally. The leaflets called upon the unemployed to unite so their demands would carry more weight with "the politicians," upon whom their plight was blamed.

It is significant to note that one handbill denied that the organization was suggesting that the government be overthrown, but it urged that something be done about the situation legally. The approach used is common in Communist agitation practice. The throwaway bore a cartoon of a prosperous looking individual tossing a coin to some "hungry workers" who are saying, "We want bread," to which the prosperous one replies, "Let 'em eat cake." The remainder of the leaflet is set forth below:

"Just as that big shot is telling the hungry workers 'Let 'em eat cake' and tossing them a quarter, so did a greedy and notorious Queen of France, Marie Antoinette, back in the 18th century. The starving workers of Paris who wanted work or bread got organized and did something about their hardhearted government and big bosses—they organized and overthrew their government, installing one that gave them bread.

"It is not suggested that you overthrow the government of the Territory which refuses to recognize our growing unemployment problem and do something about it, but it is suggested that you organize to do something about your situation in a legal way! Don't forget to come to the unemployed rally.

"Time: This Thursday (March 31) at 1 p. m.

"Place: Iolani Palace bandstand.

"Music: By Joe Keawe.

"Speakers: W. K. Bassett, assistant to the mayor; Antonio Rania, president of Sugar Workers (in Ilocano); Gorman Noland, small-businessman; Henry Epstein, United Public Workers; Rudy Eskovitz, Marine Cooks; Jack W. Hall, ILWU."

The guiding hand behind the movement, according to Robert McElrath, who was the first speaker at the March 31 rally, was the ILWU faction in Honolulu. As a speaker at this rally, Jack Hall promised the aid of the ILWU in the form of advice, legal talent, and any other facilities of the ILWU which might be necessary to form the UWOH.

A steering committee was chosen at the March 31 rally, and it is of interest to note that the ILWU and the Communist element present managed the entire proceedings, making and seconding motions, offering to serve on the committees, and otherwise railroading measures through the meeting. Among those attending the rally were:

Eileen Fujimoto  
Charles Fujimoto  
Ralph Vossbrink  
Jack Kawano  
Yukio Abe  
Jeanette Nakama

Adele Kensinger  
Doris Ozaki  
Yoshiko Hall  
Stephen Murin  
Robert Greene  
Koji Ariyoshi

Doris Ozaki, who acted as secretary at the rally, recorded the names of many men who volunteered to serve on the steering committee. Officers of the organization were not elected at the Iolani Palace meeting, but were to be selected at a later date.

It has been reported that the person later elected president of the Unemployed Workers' Organization of Hawaii was one Lois Barbara Farnes. She was at one time chairman of the civil-rights committee of the subversive HCLC, has been on the staff of the Honolulu Record, and more recently identified with the Hawaii Civil Rights Congress, Honolulu affiliate of one of the largest Communist-front organizations in the United States.

Robert Greene, prominent in the leftwing element of the Honolulu chapter of the NAACP and one-time chairman of the subversive HCLC, was the vice president of the UWOH. Greene previously conducted a Marxist discussion group at his home in Honolulu.

The UWOH had its first headquarters at the ILWU regional office, pier 11, Honolulu. However, in December 1949, when the UWOH made another attempt to interest the unemployed, it no longer maintained an office. As of that date, the ILWU no longer backed the group.

Little activity seems to have resulted from the opening rally of the UWOH. However, on December 14, 1949, handbills were again distributed in the name of the Unemployed Workers' Organization of Hawaii. They called upon the unemployed to unite. The leaflet of December 14 promised that a later handbill would tell the unemployed how and where to join. This leaflet, like that of March 31, blamed "the politicians" for the plight of the unemployed. It urged the unemployed to unite in political action to improve their circumstances.

Since December 1949, nothing further has been heard of this organization.

#### ANNEX 19

##### NATIONAL UNION OF MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS

The National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, with headquarters in San Francisco, is headed by Hugh Bryson, a close ally of Harry Bridges, and the ILWU. The M. C. and S. union has publicly opposed United States military aid to South Korea and called on the administration to "immediately cease American armed intervention in Korea," "reaffirming the M. C. and S. position for peace against war" (Honolulu Advertiser, July 1, 1950). The M. C. and S. union also favored a policy of recognition of the People's (Communist) Government of China (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, August 23, 1950). It also declared itself "against the injustice in the Harry Bridges case."

Hugh Bryson, head of the M. C. and S., has been identified as a Communist (see Third Report of California Committee on Un-American Activities Committee, 1947, pp. 149, 151, 160, 163-166). Richard Gladstein, attorney for Harry Bridges and the ILWU, was identified as having presided at a top-faction Communist Party meeting at the home of Hugh Bryson, at which meeting plans were made to put the Communists in control of the M. C. and S. by the adoption of a new "Gladstein constitution" (Third Report, California Committee on Un-American Activities, p. 165).

The M. C. and S. union was ousted from the CIO by a vote of 41 to 1 by the CIO executive board on August 29, 1950, for following the Communist Party line. At the same time (August 1950) the ILWU was expelled by the CIO executive board by a vote of 41 to 2.

Eddie Tangen, international secretary-treasurer of the M. C. and S., appeared as a guest speaker at a meeting held by the former Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, now known as the Hawaii Civil Rights Congress on June 13, 1949 (Honolulu Record, June 16, 1949). He has served as instructor in a Communist school, the Pacific Northwest Labor School in Seattle, Wash., and has been active with the Civil Rights Congress in protesting legal action against the 12 Communist leaders in New York. Joe Johnson, an organizer for the M. C. and S. on the mainland, was a guest speaker at an HCLC meeting held March 21, 1949 (Honolulu Record, March 24, 1949). Joe Johnson was a speaker before the Fillmore section of the Communist Party in San Francisco in 1948. He is a member of the board of directors of the California Labor School, a recognized Communist project, and has actively protested the trial of the top United States Communist officials in New York City (House Un-American Activities Committee report on HCLC, pp. 19-20).

Wallace Ho, Honolulu port agent of the M. C. and S. union, was identified as a Communist by Ichiro Izuka and Easter Doyle during the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings held in Honolulu, in April 1950. With Ichiro Izuka's testimony a letter was introduced as an exhibit wherein Wallace Ho was identified as chairman of the trial committee of the territorial executive board of the Communist Party in Hawaii, in connection with Izuka's expulsion from the party. Wallace Ho owns 100 shares of stock in the Honolulu Record which has been cited as a Communist publication. The Daily People's World, April 11, 1949, discloses that Wallace Ho was a representative for the Civil Rights Congress at San Francisco, Calif.

Ralph V. Vossbrink, present executive secretary of the United Public Workers of America, Local 646, representative for the Culinary and Service Workers Union, and for 3 years president of the Oahu CIO Council, came to Honolulu in 1945 as a patrolman for the M. C. and S. union. As president of the Oahu CIO Council, Vossbrink signed a protest which was sent to United States Attorney General Tom Clark, demanding a stop to persecution of people accused of being

Communists (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Nov. 29, 1948). Vossbrink handed out leaflets prepared by the Waterfront Committee, Communist Party, San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, Pedro, Honolulu in connection with the nationwide maritime strike scheduled for June 15, 1946 (Honolulu Advertiser and Star-Bulletin, June 14, 1946). Vossbrink was one of the so-called Reluctant 39. He was also prominent in the activities of the Honolulu Labor Canteen. For several years after the war, the San Francisco office of M. C. and S. carried Ralph Vossbrink on its records as residing at 3571 Pahoa Avenue, Honolulu, the home of Dr. John E. Reinecke. Ichiro Izuka in his testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, stated that Ralph Vossbrink acted as courier from San Francisco for the Communist Party.

The M. C. and S. union receives unstinting support in news coverage from the Honolulu Record and the Daily People's World.

Seven of fifteen donors to the Reinecke defense fund from the San Francisco area in March, 1948 were identified as members of the M. C. and S. union and as Communists. Among them was Hugh Bryson and Wallace Ho.

The M. C. and S. union has militantly opposed the Coast Guard screening procedures designed to tighten the security of American ports and shipping. In this connection, Wallace Ho, Honolulu port agent, described the methods employed as undemocratic and blacklisting, although he states the union did not oppose screening (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Oct. 20, 1950).

The Hawaii Civil Rights Congress, successor to the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist-front organization, held a meeting at the newly acquired offices of the M. C. and S. at 108 N. King Street, Honolulu, on February 12, 1951, at which new HCRC officers were elected. The activities of leaders in the M. C. and S. in cooperation with the HCLC and the CRC both in the Territory and on the mainland, have been covered previously in this report. Another incident of the close liaison and relationship between the M. C. and S. and the HCLC is recorded in the June-July bulletin of the HCLC dated July 12, 1950, wherein the following article was printed:

"THE M. C. AND S. UNION, HONOLULU BRANCH ACTS PROMPTLY

"The first labor union to take action in this case [Thomas Lampley—alleged racial discrimination on part of police] was the M. C. and S. which voted at a recent meeting to send a strongly worded protest to Chief Liu, and to donate \$25 to the HCLC for Lampley's defense. This union has actively participated and won many a fight against racial discrimination. Will your union or organization take similar action?"

Several rightwing members of the M. C. and S. union headed by James Randall, of San Francisco, Calif., have formed a committee to combat communism in the M. C. and S. union (Honolulu Advertiser, Aug. 18, 1950). At present the movement is still in progress. The National Maritime Union (CIO) is attempting to assimilate the M. C. and S. after ridding it of its Communist leadership. The Sailors' Union of the Pacific is also engaged in a similar effort (Honolulu Advertiser, Jan. 18, 1951).

## ANNEX 20

### UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA—LOCAL 646

The United Public Workers of America started organizing in the Territory of Hawaii in the early part of 1946. Early organizing work was done by Wilfred M. Oka, its acting Territorial director. Oka is one of the "Reluctant 39."

In connection with UPWA's organizational work here, international president Abram Flaxer and Henry B. Epstein, of the UPWA national office, came to the islands in May 1947. Epstein remained and at present is regional director in Hawaii for the UPWA.

In 1944, the House Committee on Un-American Activities found the predecessors of this union to have Communist leadership \* \* \* strongly entrenched. The national UPWA in April 1946 was formed with the merging of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America and the United Federal Workers of America unions, both CIO. Abram Flaxer, president of the SCMWA, became president of the new union. One of the first acts of the new organization was the adoption of a resolution, called up by Flaxer, which denounced the United States and called for the immediate withdrawal of United States Armed Forces from all foreign countries. The effort of a handful of delegates to modify the

resolution to demand also the withdrawal of Soviet troops was defeated by the Communist-controlled convention.

The UPWA also spearheaded agitation against loyalty investigations of suspected subversive employees in governmental service. It charged that such investigations constitute union busting, indulge in race prejudice, and generally violate civil rights.

The UPWA in Hawaii attempted to organize a teachers union and for such purpose set up an Organizing Committee, Teachers' Local No. 653, calling a meeting at the YWCA on October 13, 1946. Dr. John E. Reinecke was active in this work. This attempt at teacher organization was a failure.

However, the UPWA has been able to organize some Territorial and county workers among road workers, hospital employees and the Wailuku, Maui, fire department.

Other local unions connected with the UPWA are the Culinary and Service Workers Union and the Independent Taxi Drivers Union. Ralph Vossbrink, executive secretary of UPWA, Local 646, is also national representative and business agent for the Culinary and Service Workers Union and Business agent for the Independent Taxi Drivers Union. Vossbrink who had formerly been connected with the M. C. and S. was one of the "Reluctant 39."

The UPWA was expelled from the CIO in February 1950, because of its Communist leadership and policies.

At a meeting held October 15 and 16, 1949, attended by 50 delegates of the Territorial Council of the UPWA at Makawao, Maui, resolutions were adopted pledging 100 percent support to the international officers of the UPWA, demanding the Harry Bridges case be dropped immediately, and expressing appreciation to the ILWU for its cooperation.

Richard M. Kageyama, member of the board of supervisors of the city and county of Honolulu, at the request of Wilfred M. Oka, then Territorial director for UPWA, introduced a resolution before a meeting of the board of supervisors held on July 29, 1947, which read in part:

" \* \* \* It is hereby declared to be the policy of the city and county of Honolulu that its employees shall be free to join or refrain from joining labor, trade, or other employee organizations without interference, coercion, restraint, or fear of prejudice, discrimination, or reprisal to or in their employment and that membership in any such organization shall not of itself be ground for or cause for dismissal or discharge from any position or employment in or with the city and county."

Supervisor Kageyama was a member of the Communist Party at the time he introduced the resolution.

Ewart Guinier, who served as an organizer for the UPWA in New York City and was national secretary-treasurer of the union when it was expelled from the CIO, will be remembered for his activities with the Honolulu Labor Canteen and the Oahu Servicemen's Committee for Speedier Demobilization.

In the report on the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, dated June 23, 1950, prepared by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives in which the HCLC was classified as a Communist front, it is reported that at a meeting of the HCLC on September 12, 1949, Henry Epstein, then a business agent for UPWA in Hawaii, appealed for funds to aid an attempt to block the signing of loyalty oaths in Los Angeles. The attempt at the time was being backed by a mainland local of the UPWA. The HCLC took up a collection from its membership on the spot, and also voted to send \$25 from the HCLC treasury as its contribution to this cause. Henry Epstein was a featured speaker at HCLC meetings held August 8, 1948, and February 7, 1949. Robert Weinstein, director of organization for the national UPWA, appeared as a featured speaker on a Labor Day program held September 2, 1950, at Iolani Palace grounds, Honolulu. This event was sponsored by unions which had been expelled from the CIO. Weinstein attacked the CIO.

In the August 3, 1950, anniversary issue of the Communist-line Honolulu Record, the UPWA sponsored an advertisement extending fraternal greeting to that newspaper.

At the 1950 convention of the delegates of the UPWA held in Honolulu on September 2-3, 1950, the UPWA adopted resolutions supporting the national UPWA leaders and Harry Bridges, ILWU president. Another resolution gave formal thanks to the ILWU of Hawaii for assisting UPWA in Hawaii.

The Honolulu Record has consistently given space to UPWA news. UPWA's close association with the Communist-dominated ILWU and the Communist-

front HCLC, its defense of Harry Bridges, and its own Communist leadership clearly shows its true character.

## ANNEX 21

UNITED OFFICE AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS OF AMERICA,  
LOCAL 190

Local No. 190 of the UOPWA, then a CIO affiliate, was formed in Honolulu about August 1946. Its membership, very small in number, was comprised in the main of officeworkers employed by the ILWU and other Communist-dominated labor unions. In the latter part of 1946, UOPWA local No. 190 merged with FAECT chapter 37, thus combining two weak unions. The absorption of the FAECT, chapter 37 by UOPWA, local No. 190 was in accordance with recommendations from the national headquarters of the FAECT. Both the UOPWA and the FAECT were dropped from the CIO later because of their Communist leadership.

The UOPWA was described by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a group having Communist leadership \* \* \* strongly entrenched. The California Un-American activities committee also has classified this union as Communist dominated.

Although its membership in Hawaii is small, it has been conspicuous for Communists and Communist Party line followers. Eileen T. Fujimoto, Peggy T. Uesugi, Doris K. Ozaki, Jeanette Nakama Rohrbaugh, Ah Quon Leong McElrath, and Pauline Rosenthal were UOPWA members. All were named as members of the Communist Party in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, at the hearings held in Honolulu during April 1950. Upon the merger of UOPWA with the FAECT, Charles K. Fujimoto, who later identified himself as chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii, became a member. Another member was David Hyun who recently was arrested in Los Angeles, Calif., under the McCarran Act. Charles K. Fujimoto, Eileen Fujimoto, Peggy Uesugi and David Hyun were officials of local No. 190, in various capacities.

At a meeting of the subversive Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee on August 10, 1948, it was announced that a \$10 donation had been voted to the HCLC, to be used in behalf of the Reineckes' by the Hawaii local of the UOPWA.

Although a very small union in number of members, the UOPWA has been the most nearly completely Communist dominated of all labor organizations in Hawaii.

It is significant to note that the Communist Party of the U. S. A. Communist-front organizations, and many private concerns of value to the Communist cause permit their stenographers to place the UOPWA initials at the foot of correspondence, thus indicating its origin in a union shop. In view of the known security policies of the Communist Party and its affiliates, it is logical that leading party functionaries should seek to surround themselves with personnel whom they know to be at least sympathetic to the Communist cause.

## ANNEX 22

FEDERATION OF ARCHITECTS, ENGINEERS, CHEMISTS AND TECHNICIANS—  
CHAPTER 37

Chapter 37 of the FAECT was first organized about the early part of 1940 and was largely composed of persons employed at the Navy Yard, Pearl Harbor. About 1946, upon recommendation of the national headquarters of the FAECT, the local chapter merged with the United Office and Professional Workers of America, local No. 190. As a result of the merger, the FAECT name was dropped and the UOPWA name was thereafter used. Both parent unions, then affiliates of the CIO, later were expelled from the CIO because of their Communist leadership. The UOPWA, local No. 190 is the subject of annex 21.

The fourth report of the California Un-American activities committee, 1948, at page 235, discloses that the national FAECT was started by one Marcel Scherer following his return from Soviet Russia. Scherer had spent 2 years there studying at the school known as the Lenin School, which is used to train Communist espionage agents for service throughout the world. His wife, Lena Davis, was secretary of the Communist Party in New Jersey. The third report of the California Un-American activities committee, 1947, at page 370, reports that FAECT, chapter 25, of California had met secretly during World War II and had

discussed the atomic and radiation research work at the University of California. This report further describes the FAECT as a Communist front which could place its members in vitally strategic positions in the Government where the members would have access to information of tremendous value to a potential enemy power. In 1944, the House Un-American Activities Committee found the International FAECT (CIO) to have "Communist leadership \* \* \* strongly entrenched."

The local FAECT, chapter 37, which started out with about 10 members, ultimately had a membership of 47. It included within its membership Charles K. Fujimoto, present chairman of the Communist Party of Hawaii, who later played an active part in the merging of the Hawaii chapter of the FAECT with UOPWA Local 190. His wife, Eileen Fujimoto, was active in UOPWA local No. 190 and served as its treasurer some time after the merger. David Hyun was a member of the local FAECT chapter and he, too, played an active part in the merging of the FAECT and UOPWA locals. Hyun was recently arrested in Los Angeles, Calif., on a deportation warrant issued under the McCarran Act. Charles and Eileen Fujimoto and David Hyun have served on the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii since 1945.

Theodore M. Lichtgarn, who was president of FAECT chapter 37 in 1945, is the holder of 10 shares of stock in the Honolulu Record, a Communist-front publication, and which is mentioned elsewhere in this report. Two other FAECT local No. 37 members were also active with the Inter-Professional Association, which is the subject of annex 5 of this report.

Due to the high pitch of activity during 1940-45 in connection with the defense program and later the war effort, most of the FAECT local 37 members, being workers at the Navy Yard, Pearl Harbor, were not in a position to give much of their time to the functioning of the FAECT. However, with the war's end, the Communists in FAECT succeeded in merging the local chapter with UOPWA local No. 190, thus strengthening control over the former FAECT members who apparently were not aware of the Communist forces in their ranks. Eventually some of the former FAECT members who joined with the UOPWA after the merger left the newly formed union. The effect of the merger was to strengthen the Communist-dominated UOPWA local No. 190 by broadening its membership base, and at the same time to put out of existence what could have been a worthwhile federation of technical workers, again illustrating the rule or ruin technique of the Communist Party in labor organizations.

#### ANNEX 23

##### "HAWAII STAR"

In the early 1946 a small group of persons of Japanese ancestry formed an organization which they called Nichibei Minshu Kyokai (Japanese American Association for Democracy), which is described more fully in annex 15. Ostensibly, the Japanese American Association for Democracy was formed to combat the so-called katta gumi group (that is, persons who believed that Japan had not lost the war), to give guidance in democratic thinking to backward Japanese residents of Hawaii, and to assist the postwar democratic movement in Japan. It was the consensus of the JAAD group that their organization should publish a democratic Japanese newspaper.

However, there developed within the JAAD group some disagreement over the title of the paper. The self-styled right element preferred the title "Minshu Shimbu" ("Democratic News"), while the left group, led by Jack Denichi Kimoto, Ginjiro "Hokusan" Arashiro and Shutei Mayeshiro, succeeded in having adopted the name "Hawaii Star." Mr. Kimoto, who became the first editor of the newspaper, has a long record of Communist activity. He was cited for contempt of Congress as a result of his refusal to answer questions concerning his Communist Party membership and was subsequently indicted. The charge against him later was dismissed in the United States District Court for the District of Hawaii on the basis of his constitutional right to refuse to answer questions that might tend to incriminate him.

The articles of association of the Hawaii Star, Ltd., of Honolulu, filed with the office of the treasurer of the Territory of Hawaii on March 14, 1947, show

that the company was incorporated on March 3, 1947, with these officers and directors:

President: Denichi Kimoto  
 Vice president: Jack H. Kawano  
 Secretary: Ginjiro Arashiro  
 Treasurer: Taruji Oshiro  
 Assistant Treasurer: Tokio Arashiro  
 Auditors:

Masao Nakata  
 Hoyei Tengan

Directors:

Uta Tamanaha  
 Ishu Asato  
 Shutei Mayeshiro

The affidavit of the corporation's officers filed with the Territorial treasurer discloses that 1,270 of the 1,500 shares of common stock (par value \$10 a share) were subscribed for, and that the major shareholders were:

Denichi Kimoto	Ushi Oyafuso
Jack H. Kawano	Taruji Oshiro
Ginjiro Arashiro	Uta Tamanaha
Tokio Arashiro	Shutei Mayeshiro

Each subscribe to 100 shares except Kawano, who was listed for 50 shares.

The company's annual exhibit as of December 31, 1949, filed with the Territorial treasurer, reveals that the following-named persons were officers and directors at the end of 1949:

President and secretary: Ginjiro Arashiro  
 Vice president: Shutei Mayeshiro  
 Treasurer: Taruji Oshiro  
 Assistant treasurer: Tokio Arashiro  
 Auditors:

Masao Nakata  
 Uta Tamanaha

Directors:

Ushi Oyafuso  
 Matsukichi Ajimine  
 Ishu Asato

The corporation's deficit at the end of 1949 was declared to be \$9,303.68.

Certificates filed by the corporation with the Territorial treasurer disclose that Denichi Kimoto became editor on March 3, 1947, Ginjiro Arashiro succeeded him on August 8, 1948, and Shutei Mayeshiro, the present editor, succeeded Mr. Arashiro on May 1, 1949.

Of the 59 stockholders listed in the 1949 annual exhibit, 18 were identified as having been somehow connected with Communist Party activities in the Territory of Hawaii, in testimony given before this Commission or before the congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. (Two other stockholders are tentatively identified in sworn testimony as Communist Party members.) The 18 so identified and their respective share holdings are:

*Yasuki Arakaki: 10 shares	Yoshikazu Morimoto: 20 shares
*Charles Fujimoto: 10 shares	Bert H. Nakano: 5 shares
Eileen Fujimoto: 10 shares	*Tadashi Ogawa: 10 shares
Yukinori Fujioka: 10 shares	Jack T. Osakoda: 10 shares
Saburo Fujisaki: 10 shares	*Hideo Okada: 10 shares
Carl Y. Fukumoto: 20 shares	Kenji Omuro: 10 shares
*Denichi Kimoto: 100 shares	Richard Shigemitsu: 10 shares
Robert Y. Kunimura: 10 shares	*Shigeo Takemoto: 10 shares
*Jack H. Kawano: 50 shares	*Thomas Yagi: 10 shares

(\*Names so marked are of persons who were indicted for contempt of Congress, but later acquitted.)

Two of these persons have admitted under oath their past Communist Party membership. Of the 18 named above, 16 were members, officers or employees of the Communist-dominated ILWU.

In addition to the 18 stockholders specifically identified with Communist Party activities, there are at least 9 stockholders who have been connected with Marxist

and pro-U. S. S. R. activities and publications in the Territory of Hawaii during the past 20 years.

Denichi Kimoto, one of the Hawaii Star stockholders, also owns 106 shares of stock in the corporation which publishes the Honolulu Record which has been cited as a front for the Communist Party by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Eileen Fujimoto also owns stock in both newspapers. Shizuyo (Shizuko) Kimoto, a Hawaii Star stockholder, also owns 60 shares of stock in the Honolulu Record.

The Hawaii Star and the Honolulu Record have offices and are published at the same place, 811 Sheridan Street, Honolulu.

The following is quoted from the statement of policy of the Hawaii Star published in its first issue, March 6, 1947:

- I. Support democratic movement in America and Japan.
- II. Support statehood.
- III. Fight to obtain full naturalization rights for Japanese aliens.
- IV. Support all measures to further democratic education of all island residents.
- V. Full and fair reporting on all labor-employer issues.
- VI. Emphasize human side of issues.
- VII. Opposed to all racial discrimination and promote inter-racial unity.

For the purpose of comparing the stated policies of the Hawaii Star with the news items presented by it, it is of particular interest to read the English section of the issue of January 1, 1948. Its 13 news items bear the following headlines or concern the following matters:

- (a) Jack W. Hall, Communist ILWU leader, attacks the American Legion for alleged un-American actions.
- (b) Panic in Russia, a feature article by Alan Max praising current living conditions in Russia.
- (c) Americans and English allow Nazi war criminal to escape.
- (d) "Australians Will Never Fight U. S. S. R."
- (e) "World Food Shortage Worsened by Dutch Blockade."
- (f) "Workers in India and Pakistan Reforge Links."
- (g) "Russians Revalue Rubles, End Rationing, Cut Prices."
- (h) "FDR Letter to Earle Forbade Soviet Baiting."
- (i) Canadian CIO threatens a strike.
- (j) Mexican workers demand wage increase (two items).
- (k) Local pineapple companies ask ILWU to open negotiations to raise wages.
- (l) "France's Month-Long Strike Wave Ends With Basic Gains for Labor."

It will be noted that only 2 of the 13 items are local in nature, and each of those concerns the Communist-dominated ILWU. Two advertisements appear in the English section, one by the Aahu CIO Council and the other by the Culinary and Service Workers' Union Local, No. 1. Both were Communist-dominated unions.

The first issue of the Hawaii Star was published on March 6, 1947. In its original form the paper was bilingual (Japanese and English) and continued as such until April 29, 1948, when the English section was discontinued. Since that date the Hawaii Star has been printed only in the Japanese language. It appears that the English language section was discontinued in anticipation of the early publication of the Honolulu Record, which was inaugurated shortly after the Hawaii Star became a Japanese language paper.

#### *Analysis of the English section (1947-48)*

The following persons have been identified as the writers of news stories or articles printed in the English section of the Hawaii Star during 1947-48:

- (a) George Morris, a staff writer for the Daily People's World.
- (b) Israel Epstein, a staff writer for the Daily People's World, and correspondent for the Allied Labor News.
- (c) George Lohr, a committee member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., for the California district.
- (d) George Marion, a contributor to the Daily Worker and on the staff of the Daily People's World. New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York, N. Y., largest of Red publishing firms, has printed his writings.
- (e) Gino Bardi, of New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York, N. Y., which has published his writings.
- (f) Olive Sutton, a contributor to the Daily Worker and on the staff of the Daily People's World.

(g) Rupert Lockwood, Sydney, Australia, correspondent who supplies material to the Daily Worker.

(h) Anna Louise Strong, a staff writer on the Daily People's World and former editor of the Moscow News. Her name appears as an author in a bibliography issued by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in connection with its plan for penetrating the school system by distributing kits of teaching materials on the Soviet Union.

(i) Joseph Starobin, foreign editor of the Daily Worker on the staff of Daily People's World, and a contributor to Political Affairs, the official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ formerly known as the Communist, published by the Communist Party, U. S. A.

(j) Alan Max, managing editor of the Daily Worker, and on the staff of the Daily People's World. He was one of the instructors or guest lecturers who also conducted forums at the subversive Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 Avenue of the Americas, New York City.

(k) Norman Ross, assistant to the chairman of the Communist Party, U.s.a., District of New York.

(l) Abner W. Berry, associate editor and contributor to Political Affairs. Member of the editorial board of the Michigan Herald published by the People's Educational Publishing Association, 1419 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. The Michigan Herald was Communist initiated and controlled.

(m) Albert Maltz, 1 of the Hollywood 10 convicted for contempt following the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee regarding Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry.

(n) Herbert J. Biberman, 1 of the Hollywood 10 likewise convicted for contempt.

(o) Paul Robeson, well known for his pro-Communist and pro-U. S. S. R. sympathies and activities.

(p) Aiko T. Reinecke, who was dismissed by the Department of Public Instruction, Territory of Hawaii, for Communist activities.

News services serving as sources for material published by the Hawaii Star are:

(a) Labor Research Association, which was cited as subversive and an affiliate of the Communist Party by the United States Attorney General's Office in a letter of the Loyalty Review Board.

(b) Allied Labor News, an international Communist news service.

(c) Federated Press, which was also cited as a Communist-controlled organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944 and by the California committee in 1948.

Cartoons by A. Redfield, whose works have been noted in the Honolulu Record and the Daily People's World, have also appeared in the Hawaii Star.

The following articles which appeared in the Hawaii Star are typical of its propaganda line:

(a) The text of Henry A. Wallace's speech which the Hawaii Star stated was suppressed by almost every newspaper in the country (April 17 and 24, 1947). The Daily People's World ran similar copy.

(b) An article by George Lohr entitled, "Soviet 5-Year Plan Report Shows Amazing Recovery" (April 24, 1947).

(c) An article by Israel Epstein captioned, "Greece, China Provide Grounds for World Suspicion of United States Aims" (July 3, 1947).

(d) An article by Anna Louise Strong, "North Korea 'Wagner Act' Guarantees Workers Rights" (October 16, 1947).

(e) An article by Gladys Carter entitled, "Religious Leader Writes of U. S. S. R. To Promote Understanding." Statements from Dr. Hewlett Johnson's book "Soviet Russia Since the War" are quoted (October 20, 1947).

(f) An article entitled, "First Victims of Witch Hunt—Two School Teachers Suspended on Suspicion of 'Red' Activities" (December 4, 1947). Its reference to Dr. and Mrs. John E. Reinecke.

(g) A reproduction of the Communist Party of Hawaii leaflet explaining its program is published (March 11, 1948). The Hawaii Star reported that it had received the leaflet in the mail a few weeks earlier. Before quoting the leaflet in full, the news item features a statement in the leaflet that the ultimate aim of the Communist Party is "establishment of socialism by the free choice of the American people," thus stressing this by quoting it twice in the same article.

In the June 19, 1947, issue an article appears on "Chiang's 'Democracy' Described in Poetry." This was before the fall of Chiang's government. The item

carries a poem describing how Chinese students feel about the "democratically reorganized" government of Chiang Kai-shek. The poem, entitled "Speaking of Democracy," originally appeared in the Yanchung University News, and is quoted here in full:

"Life is bitter, life is cruel,  
 Look at China and the people's rule;  
 You're the people, I'm the rule,  
 What I say you must do, you fool;  
 You plow the field in heat and rain,  
 I have barns to store your grain;  
 You spin cotton in grief and pain;  
 I sell the cloth and reap the gain;  
 You set the brick and lay the tile,  
 I move in and live in style;  
 The young and strong must soldiers be,  
 Shoulder a gun and fight for me;  
 You thick-skinned workers, rough and green  
 Are nothing but a 'live machine';  
 When I see your sweating brow  
 You remind me of a cow;  
 I skin you and eat you,  
 I strip you and beat you;  
 And if my orders you resist,  
 Of course you are a Communist."

The apparent intent of publishing of this poem was to put over the idea that Chiang's opposition was not communism, but was the oppressed populace rising against him.

*Analysis of recent issues (in Japanese)*

An analysis of the newspaper's Japanese language reporting was also made. In contrast to the English language section, where many news items appeared under the bylines of well-known Communists or Communist sympathizers, the Japanese language news items only occasionally mention such writers by name. The general presentation of news in the Japanese section follows closely the Communist Party line in the same fashion as did the newspaper's English section.

Translations of Hawaii Star news items and other contents covering the periods from May 1, 1950, to July 31, 1950, and from September 25, 1950, to November 27, 1950, were studied. This publication's strict adherence to the Communist Party line is evidenced by the following news items:

May 1, 1950

(a) Report on Stockholm Peace Conference with news slanted along Communist line.

(b) Criticism of the Hawaii Times editorial which suggested that Communists be sent back to the mainland.

(c) A translation of "Mugity Wumpus," written by Mike Quin and distributed in Honolulu by the HCLC during the April 1950, HUAC hearings.

May 8, 1950

(a) Red China's foreign minister denounces America as imperialistic and warns America to keep hands off.

(b) Denounces General MacArthur for action taken against the Communist Party of Japan. Claims that communism must have its good points for half the world to have come to accept it voluntarily.

(c) Editorial criticizes policy of Western Powers in Western Germany. Claims that they, rather than U. S. S. R., hamper unification and independence of Germany.

May 15, 1950

(a) Statement of Vice Premier of Chinese People's Republic blaming Chiang regime for distress and suffering.

May 29, 1950

- (a) Feature story on German unification movement carried on by youth Communist groups of Eastern Germany.
- (b) Comments on Communist China with great favor.

June 5, 1950

- (a) Article translated from the Hsin Hua Pao, of Peiping, China, which predicts the eventual liberation of the Asiatic races from the hands of imperialistic nations.
- (b) Editorial criticizes occupation policy in Japan and praises anti-imperialism strikes and demonstrations of university students.

June 12, 1950

- (a) Feature story on King Leopold calls him a Nazi sympathizer and states laboring classes are against him.
- (b) Editorial criticizing General MacArthur's purge of the Communist Party in Japan.

June 19, 1950

- (a) News story on 2 American officers, 1 in Japan and 1 in Czechoslovakia, who gave up their American citizenship to become world citizens.
- (b) Editorial criticizing Hawaii Times editorial on Suppression of Communist Party of Japan. Claims Hawaii Times editor is ignorant of true state of world affairs.

June 26, 1950

- (a) Translation of article by a Lieutenant General Smith concerning Soviet Russia. Article is used to reveal the patriotism of the Russian youths and the tilting of the balance of power toward Soviet Russia.
- (b) First news item on Korean war uses penetration rather than invasion to describe the North Korean action.

July 10, 1950

- (a) Editorial lauding North Koreans as part of the movement to liberate Asia.
- (b) Korean war news slanted favorably toward the Communist cause.

July 17, 1950

- (a) Editorial on superiority of Russian weapons on Korean front. Denounces the idea that criticism of Soviet Russia signifies patriotism to the United States.
- (b) Korean war news slanted favorably toward Communist cause.
- (c) Editorial lampooning the organization of anti-Communist groups.

July 24, 1950

- (a) Editorial comparing the Korean war with the situation that existed at the time of the birth of the U. S. S. R.
- (b) Article by Howard Fast claiming that the American public is against war and wants peace. (Fast is an editor of New Masses, Mainstream, and a staff writer for the Daily People's World.)
- (c) A translation of the Communist Party of Hawaii leaflet, "Prevent World War III.

July 31, 1950

- (a) An article by Dr. Yoshitaru Hirano, official of the National Democratic Federation of Japan, blaming outbreak of the Korean war on the South Korean army.
- (b) Korean war news favorable to the Communist cause.

September 25, 1950

- (a) Editorial criticizes America's intervention in Korea.
- (b) Editorial on President Truman's move to defend Formosa. Describes British reaction as unfavorable to such policy and that British sentiment is

"leave Korea to the Koreans." Plays up South Korean police atrocities as United States Army atrocities.

October 2, 1950

(a) News on French Indo-China situation with reporting of Communist victories only.

(b) Editorial on Korean war, using statements against American intervention in Korea made by various delegates to the World Protestants Convention.

(c) Statement of the HCLC criticizing the McCarran Act.

October 9, 1950

(a) An article on liberation of Formosa, reportedly reprinted from Tai Kung Pao, published in Hong Kong. States that world war III will not occur if Communist China takes positive action, just as the North Koreans have done in Korea.

(b) Criticizes CIO action in ousting ILWU and cites Philip Murray as an advocate of war.

October 16, 1950

(a) Article from Tai Kung Pao stating that the liberation of Formosa will be the stop gap against the aggression of imperialistic nations.

(b) Tokyo dispatch on Korea's greatest dancer, Sai Sho-ki, reportedly working for the people's government north of the 38th parallel.

October 23, 1950

(a) News on Asiatic people's convention held in Tokyo. Trend of discussion follows Communist Party line. Cause of Korean war laid to imperialistic aggression.

(b) News of the battle of words between Malik and Austin before United Nations Security Council presented in a favorable light toward Malik.

(c) Report of Dr. Mui's radio broadcast from Peking criticizing MacArthur's occupation policy and expressing hope that the people of Japan will awaken and rise up for their independence. (Dr. Mui was China's representative in the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.)

October 30, 1950

(a) Article on second World Peace Conference to be held in England, and statement issued by Frederic Joliet-Curie, leading French Communist.

(b) Quotes a dispatch from Moscow relative to the housing program in Moscow and other projects for the betterment of living conditions as signs of peaceful intentions of Soviet Russia.

(c) Digest of Henry Cu Kim's editorial in the Korean National Herald, weekly published in Honolulu, which denounces American atrocities in Korea.

(d) War news on concentration of 300,000 Chinese troops near Korean border and recognition of Red China by Tibet.

November 6, 1950

(a) Editorial relative to the establishment of a People's Government on Hokkaido and criticism of the purge being conducted against Communists in Japan as a measure toward propagation of militarism in Japan.

(b) Item on corruption in the Philippines Government and a statement issued by Luis Taruc, leader of the Hukbalahups.

(c) Letter from a Japanese nurse working for the Chinese Red Army in China in which she praises the Communist regime and states that she would like to see the day when the same conditions prevail in Japan.

(d) Carries a Los Angeles dispatch on racial discrimination against Nisei war veterans.

November 13, 1950

(a) Reprint of an article in World Knowledge, a weekly published in Peiping. The theme is Asia for the Asiatics, and therefore Communist China has an absolute right to decide the fate of Korea.

(b) Regards Communist China's intervention in Korea as evidence of the struggle of the Asiatic peoples against imperialism and classifies the recent revolt

in Puerto Rico in a similar category, denying the existence of any tie-in of the President's assassination attempt with the Communist Party.

(c) Comment on the report that the United Nations has finally given in to the proposal of having a representative of Communist China present her views before the United Nations Security Council.

November 20, 1950

(a) Reprint of a statement appearing in Tai Kung Pao which describes the United Nations merely as a tool of the United States and Great Britain.

(b) Editorial criticizes the inconsistency of the American principle of observing Thanksgiving on one hand and sending war materials to China and Korea on the other.

(c) Photograph of a group of Ku Klux Klan members meeting under a fiery cross, contrasting this with America's intervention in Korea for democracy's sake.

November 27, 1950

(a) Editorial on Formosa question. Explains U. N. invitation to Red China's delegation as an indication of a rift between England and America.

(b) Denounced Dr. Schwartz, who gave a talk against communism, at a Kiwanis club meeting in Honolulu, as a fake.

In analyzing the material published in the Hawaii Star, the Communist Party line is strongly evident. Soviet Russia and her satellites are always presented in a favorable light. The Communist Party, its front organizations, and Communist-controlled unions are similarly presented. The newspaper's treatment of American foreign policy is highly critical particularly towards that aimed at curbing the spread of international communism. Labor strife on the domestic and foreign scenes is strongly highlighted and slanted from the class struggle angle. High prices, labor legislation, record profits, land monopoly, lynchings, and racial prejudice are treated in a manner aimed to suit the purposes of the Communists. Local Communists and sympathizers and local Communist-fronts and infiltrated organizations are always given favorable publicity.

#### ANNEX 24

##### HONOLULU RECORD

The Honolulu Record, published at 811 Sheridan Street, Honolulu, by the Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd., a Hawaiian corporation, has already been the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives. The committee's conclusion, stated in its report dated October 1, 1950, is quoted in part:

"The Committee on Un-American Activities after analysis and investigation of the Honolulu Record since its first issue of August 5, 1948, draws the inevitable conclusion that the Honolulu Record is a front for the Communist Party, despite the fact that the paper does not make this admission.

"It should be noted in this connection that during the past decade all Communist publications have gone to great lengths to give the impression of having no direct connections with the Communist Party. Even official publications of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. have terminated such designation since 1936 and appear instead as organs of certain publishing companies formed for that special purpose. The Honolulu Record conforms to this pattern completely.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities would like to point out that the success of such a newspaper, dedicated to disseminating Communist propaganda, depends upon support from deluded liberals. The Communists recognize that most Americans would not knowingly support the Communist Party, and therefore have devised various front organizations and publications so as to ensnare the unwary liberal. The latter serves to add prestige to the Communist front and to attract other non-Communist support \* \* \*"

Only significant additional information is reported in this appendix.

The first issue of Honolulu Record appeared on August 5, 1948, shortly after the Hawaii Star, a bilingual (Japanese and English) publication had discontinued its English section (see annex 23). Prior to its first issue, the publisher of the Honolulu Record put out a sample copy of its proposed paper in which its prospectus was contained. The sample copy appeared on July 1, 1948, under the name of Pacific Record. The sample copy stated that the proposed weekly would be a liberal publication, patterned after PM, the New York daily.

The content of the Pacific Record issue appears to have been shaped to give prospective stockholders and readers a favorable impression and to avoid the appearance of being a Communist-line publication. A double-page spread, containing the prospectus, also carried the endorsements of a dozen persons prominent in Hawaii. (Five of the twelve endorsers have been identified as Communist Party members in the postwar period.) Certain of these endorsements imply the approval of the ILWU leadership, which approval has continued.

While the Honolulu Record has never declared itself to be a Communist organ, its articles:

- (1) Consistently support the Communists.
- (2) Denounce or attack anti-Communist activity, particularly loyalty probes.
- (3) Support local, national, and international Communist-front organizations.
- (4) Support Communist-dominated trade unions.
- (5) Promote racial friction through inflammatory presentation of inter-racial matters.
- (6) Attack the Federal and Territorial Governments, their policies, and officials.

Among the American Communists it has mentioned favorably are Dr. John E. Reinecke, Celeste Strack, Charles K. Fujimoto, Harry Bridges, William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, and William Schneiderman. It has similarly mentioned Joseph Stalin, Maurice Thorez, and Palmiro Togliatti. In addition, it has favored the Communists of Indonesia, China, the Philippines, France, Italy, Greece, and Japan. It has also supported the 11 leaders of the Communist Party, U. S. A., who were convicted in New York of violating the Smith Act, and also the "Hollywood 10" who were found guilty of contempt of Congress.

Among the matters which have been opposed or presented unfavorably by the Honolulu Record are such as:

Elizabeth Bentley, ex-Communist

The Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives

The California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities

Loyalty charges against William W. Remington, (who has since been convicted of perjury for denying Communist Party affiliation)

The prosecution of Harry Bridges, and

Investigations of Russian espionage in the United States.

Communist-front organizations which have been mentioned favorably by the Honolulu Record include:

Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee (now known as Hawaii Civil Rights Congress)  
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy

California Labor School

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee,

Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace,

Civil Rights Congress,

Council on African Affairs.

Among the Communist-led unions which have been reported on favorably in the Honolulu Record are:

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

United Public Workers of America

United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union

Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union

National Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards

United Office and Professional Workers of America

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

In this connection it is interesting to note the financial support given the Honolulu Record by some of these unions in the form of advertising. In its anniversary issue of August 3, 1950, of approximately 713 inches of advertising, about half was placed by 3 local labor organizations, the ILWU, the UPWA, and the Independent Taxi Drivers Union, an affiliate of the UPWA. The ILWU had all of the advertising space except 3-inch advertisements by the other 2 unions. There also appeared in the anniversary edition a 9-inch advertisement by the subversive Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, and a 6-inch advertisement by the Communist-line newspaper, Hawaii Star.

The 1950 Christmas issue of the Honolulu Record carries approximately 756 inches of advertising, about 319 inches of which were placed in the name of the ILWU. The UPWA had a 4-inch advertisement, while the Hawaii Civil Rights Congress had a 9-inch advertisement.

The conclusion is inescapable that the Honolulu Record has been fostering a campaign of race hatred, under the guise of trying to foster racial unity. Frank Marshall Davis, who writes a column each week under the caption, "Speaking Frank-ly," has written in one sentence the best evidence of his own corrosive philosophy: "If color discrimination were not the national policy of the real rulers of America, there would be no wage differential between west coast and Hawaiian stevedores." Davis also praised Paul Robeson for his statement that Negroes would not "join in a war of aggression against Russia."

This Commission knows of no instance wherein the Honolulu Record has criticized Soviet Russia adversely, but that newspaper has many times criticized United States policy and American democracy. Columnist Davis best sums up the newspaper's attitude toward America with his remark, made in July 1949, that "Democracy today lies weak and slowly dying."

Because this newspaper has been consistently and unequivocally furthering a line that is disseminated by the Communist press on the mainland, this Commission must conclude that the Honolulu Record willingly occupies a place in the international Communist propaganda apparatus. This conclusion is fortified by the fact that its stockholders as of August 31, 1950, included a number of identified Communist Party members and Communist-led labor organizations, and its contributors and solicitors have included Communists.

#### ANNEX 25

##### AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

The American Student Union (ASU) was a national organization of students which was formed in Columbus, Ohio, in 1935 by a merger of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League. The ASU had chapters on campuses of many American universities and colleges, including the University of Hawaii.

The ASU has been classified as a Communist-front organization or as a subversive group by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, and by investigating committees of California, New York, and Massachusetts.

The first evidence of activity of the ASU on the campus of the University of Hawaii was in April 1936. Two exchange students, one from Earlham University, Richmond, Ind., and the other from the University of California, led a peace strike on the University of Hawaii campus on April 22, 1936. About 200 persons assembled at the old football field to hear the two leaders. The peace strike was none too peaceful. An opposition group composed of university students hurled eggs and tomatoes at the two leaders and finally threw them both into the campus swimming pool.

An article in the April 22, 1936, issue of the Honolulu Star Bulletin quotes one of the leaders of the strike as saying, "We must realize we are not meeting here alone. Hundreds of thousands of others are meeting all over the mainland." In the same issue of that newspaper appeared the following dispatch:

"(Associated Press by wireless)

"Thousands of college and high school students in the United States left classrooms today to participate in the third annual demonstration against war sponsored by the American Student Union."

The 1938 report of the Massachusetts committee which investigated subversive activity states (at p. 171):

"In April of each year the Young Communist League and affiliated organizations conduct a student peace strike. In 1937 this took place on April 22."

It is interesting to note that the 1935-37 ASU peace strikes were held on the birthday of V. I. Lenin, who was born on April 22, 1870.

Evidence of ASU-inspired activity on the local campus was next noted in the March 12, 1938, issue of the University of Hawaii student newspaper, Ka Leo O Hawaii. An article in that paper announced:

Anti-Fascists to Hold Contest; Offer \$1,000 in Prizes for Best Paper on Significance of Spain Democracy Struggle.

The sponsors of this essay contest were listed as the League of American Writers, in conjunction with the ASU and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, all three of which organizations have been classified as Communist-front groups. The general topic of the contest was the Anti-Fascist Struggle in Spain Today and Its Relation to the Welfare of the American Citizen of Tomorrow. In the fall of 1938 several older students arrived in Honolulu as merchant seamen and enrolled at the university. These students were the leaders in promoting interest in forming a local chapter of the ASU, and are generally credited with having been responsible for the eventual formation of a chapter of the ASU at the University of Hawaii.

About October, 1938, steps were taken to establish on the local campus a formal chapter of the ASU. A prospectus outlining the ostensible aims of the organization and a copy of the ASU constitution were filed with the proper university authorities. According to the prospectus, the ASU stood for:

"Peace—It seeks to make America a positive force for peace.

"Freedom—It defends students' and teachers' rights. It seeks to make the campus a genuine fortress of democracy.

"Security—It favors extension of Federal student aid as embodied in American Youth Act. It supports the building of student cooperatives.

"Equality—It campaigns for educational opportunities regardless of class or race. It condemns discrimination against minority groups.

"The ASU is independent of any political party. It welcomes into its ranks anyone who wishes to act on one or all of the issues outline in its program. The ASU, in cooperation with labor and other progressive groups, is dedicated to the realization of a society of peace and plenty. Dues are \$1 payable in 2 installments—50 cents for membership in the national organization and 50 cents to defray expenses of the University of Hawaii chapter."

The constitution of the organization, as filed with university authorities, contained these provisions, among others:

"ARTICLES I—Purposes.

"1. The University of Hawaii chapter of the American Student Union (hereinafter designated as 'chapter') is an affiliate of the national American Student Union. As such it subscribes to the general policies of the national body, but reserves the right to act freely according to local situations and needs.

"2. The chapter is in no way connected with any political party, labor union, or any other organization. However, it is the chapter's right to support any of those that merit its attention.

"3. The chapter shall work for the principles of democracy—their preservation and extension into all branches of life. It shall work toward this end on the campus, in community life, and in the world society.

"ARTICLE II.—Membership.

"1. Any student, graduate student, alumnus, or faculty member who subscribes to the policies of the chapter is eligible for membership."

The Student Council of the University of Hawaii voted down recognition of the ASU by a vote of 6 to 4 in November 1938. A second request for recognition of the local ASU chapter was submitted to the Student Council. A student editor of *Ka Leo O Hawaii* urged the Student Council to vote recognition of the ASU, stating that while some chapters of the national ASU had been dubbed communistic, he did not believe the local chapter was of that nature. Further, he wrote, as far as could be ascertained, the local organization was concerned chiefly with maintaining freedom of academic thought, democratization of industry, and preservation of democracy.

In December 1938, the Student Council voted, 8 to 5, to recognize the ASU on the University of Hawaii campus. At about the same time, a student poll was taken on the campus with the following results: 40.7 percent of the students questioned favored recognition of the ASU chapter; 17.8 percent opposed it; and 41.5 percent were indifferent.

The University of Hawaii chapter, after being recognized, began holding peace meetings and came out against military training. Their anti-military-training stand created strong resentment on the part of the ROTC students and other advocates of military training. This peace program of the ASU was in conformity with the Communist line then in effect and being implemented by such pro-Communist organizations as the national ASU.

Lack of interest in the ASU on the local campus caused the organization to become defunct around 1940. It was formally declared inactive December 18, 1947, by the university authorities.

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